

REEL, B.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE RED
RIVER SETTLEMENT

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Early Printing in the Red River Settlement 1859-1870



by Bruce Peel



Louis Wolf, author and publisher of many of the
leaflets in this book.

Author's Note

The late for instance in this work, another broadside, previously owned, came to light. Entitled *Successors to administration successors in a short manner*, it states that for reasons of health John Bruce was being succeeded as president by Louis Wolf. Then it lists other members of the provisional government. These discussions had been taken at a meeting held on December 25, 1860; presumably the broadside was printed shortly thereafter. See page 37 for description of English version.

EARLY PRINTING
IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT
1859-1870



First City Hall 1876-1884



Winnipeg's Second City Hall 1886-1963

Early Printing in the Red River Settlement 1859-1870

and its effect on the Riel Rebellion

by
BRUCE PEEL



Peguis Publishers Limited

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

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Early Printing in the Red River Settlement

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2. Red River Rebellion, 1869-70
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Preface

The story of early printing in Winnipeg and vicinity is unequalled, for drama, anywhere else in Canada. The only known copy of the first local imprint lay sealed in a cornerstone for 87 years, inaccessible for examination. Its author-printer was Manitoba's first abortionist, and the principal in a trial which was a local *cause célèbre*. Then came the first, sometimes controversial, newspaper, *The Nor' Wester* and its successive owners: Coldwell, Ross, Schultz, and Bown. The climactic point in the printing drama came with the political disturbances of 1869-70. Printers, working under duress, set in type proclamations which were politically distasteful to them, or purloined type and surreptitiously printed other proclamations. The tempestuous history of *The Nor' Wester* ended with the melting down of the type into lead bullets for Métis guns.

The early Red River imprints, which were mostly broadsides intended to be posted in public places in the Settlement survive in only a few copies of each, if at all. Some imprints are in the Manitoba Archives, others are found only in the Public Archives in Ottawa. A copy of the first McDougall proclamation – perhaps the only one extant – sold a few years ago at public auction for nearly \$800.

Since this history covers only printing in the Red River Settlement, it excludes the printing of Cree syllabics done at the Rossville Wesleyan Mission press by James Evans and his successors from 1840 to 1857.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to Begg's *Red River Journal*, and in particular to the many scholarly notes by the editor, Dr. W. L. Morton. I appreciate the assistance of four archivists in providing information and photocopies: Mr. John Bovey, Provincial Archivist of Manitoba, Miss Elizabeth Blight, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Mr. R. A. Watt, Public Archives of Canada, and Mme. Gisèle Hogue, Chef du Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec. My thanks are also due to Mr. Ross Hotson who urged publication of this book.

Bruce Price

Edmonton,
January 1974.

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For Brian

Acknowledgement of Facsimiles

Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, Département des manuscrits, Imprint No. 8

Courtesy of City of Winnipeg, Imprint 1

Courtesy of McGill University, Lande Library, Imprint No. 3

Courtesy of Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Imprints Nos. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 22 and 24

Courtesy of Public Archives of Canada, imprints Nos. 7, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 23

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
<i>Acknowledgement of Facsimiles</i>	vi
<i>Text</i>	1
<i>Notes</i>	42
<i>Red River Settlement Imprints</i>	43
<i>Appendices</i> <i>LAWS OF ASSINIBOIA</i>	45
<i>MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS</i>	53
<i>Index</i>	56

A FEW REASONS FOR A CROWN COLONY.

1. Because a Crown Colony, would have direct intercourse with the Home Government, whereas, according to Canada, would entirely nullify the power by placing us altogether in the hands of a subordinate power.
2. Because a Crown Colony, would probably make the settlement on Red River, the seat of government, but in such a case the stability of government could be secured about 1,000 miles distant from the steel-barred settlement.
3. Because a Crown Colony, would probably raise the settlement to an honorable position, make it the centre of civil and commercial transactions, and enable it to diffuse its influence over every part of the country, but, nevertheless, would reduce the settlement to a small colony, and leave the direct power to a small portion of the territory only.
4. Because a Crown Colony, would probably make the settlement the Capital of the country, which would tend to raise the value of landed property possessed by its inhabitants, an advantage not to be overlooked.
5. Because a Crown Colony, the Governor, Judge, and Council, would be in the spot and the official proceedings brought into the cooperation of all, thereby immediately increasing the moral force of the Government, about 2,000 miles from the settlement to perform the duties of his office.
6. Because, the Home Government, would be able to send a Governor, Judge, and Council, and often learn the experience of the former. Judges, and Councils, would be the rule in the Government, for British law, and in the same manner, the Judges of Canada, are a population of twenty or thirty, the Home Government would have to send a Judge, and pay his salary of \$200 per annum, besides maintaining such law, and the Government would pay his salary per year, besides the salaries of twelve clerks, official and other subordinate, and the general taxation of Canada.
7. Because, in a Crown Colony, with a Council at the spot, chosen by the people themselves, there would be the most safeguard against a despotic power with exclusive privileges, and the best security against any unwarranted influence in Canada or England, and in fact, as has been written from London, that such a plan "CANNOT BE CARRIED OUT."
8. Because, the advantages Canada enjoys, apart from her natural position, she derives therefrom, her connection with England, and a Crown Colony, and therefore we need not hurry to send to Canada to be made a Crown Colony.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

THE KEY to the beginning of printing in the Red River Settlement lay entombed for eighty-seven years in a cornerstone. Among the miscellany of items placed on August 17, 1875, in Winnipeg's first city hall was something referred to as "the first document printed in Manitoba."¹ But what was it? And how frustrating to the historical bibliographer, pleased though he might be that this unique copy of Manitoba's "incunabula" was safe from fire, theft and the elements. Like those researchers who itch for permission and a crowbar to enter Shakespeare's grave to test the theory that his epitaph bears a cabalistic message about unpublished manuscripts within, or who would long to open Byron's tomb to settle the argument as to which of the poet's feet was clubbed, the bibliographer could only gaze—so near, so far.

The cornerstone of the first city hall was laid with considerable ceremony. A number of societies participated: two lodges of the Orange Order, the Oddfellows, the Masons, the Good Templars, and the Branch of Hope. When a newer city hall was erected in the late 1880's, the "first document" and the other items were disinterred and again masoned into a cornerstone. This Victorian building, with its cupolas, served its civic function for full seventy years before time and the wreckers caught up with it. On February 17, 1962, the cornerstone was broken open for its cache of two sealed copper boxes. According to a journalistic report:

It took two screwdrivers, three cold chisels, two hammers, four aldermen and a mayor Friday to open the Winnipeg city hall time capsules.

The newspaper account mentioned the contents: Hudson's Bay Company and Merchants Bank notes, British, Russian and Prussian coins, the usual photographs of mayors and councillors, old voters' lists, and even a bottle of pickled grasshoppers left over from the scourge of '75. The report made no reference whatsoever to the most significant item of all.

The broadside, as it turned out, was captioned A FEW REASONS FOR A CROWN COLONY. It enumerates eight arguments why crown colony status for the Red River Settlement was preferable to annexation to Canada. Beneath the text is the imprint "Headingley Press 1859."

The Nor'-Wester.

Vol. L—No. 1.

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 24, 1870.

PAGE SEVENTH.

THE FIRST PUBLISHED AT RED RIVER

PROPRIETOR OF
THE NOR'-WESTER,
A WEEKLY PUBLISHED AT
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

The undersigned has purchased the printing press and type of the Red River Settlement from J. C. Smith, and is now publishing the paper. The paper is published every Wednesday, except on the Sabbath, and is published at the rate of one dollar per annum in advance. The paper is published at the rate of one dollar per annum in advance. The paper is published at the rate of one dollar per annum in advance.

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RED RIVER SETTLEMENT OFFICE
AND
NEWS AND INFORMATION

1. To the Red River and Indian Reservation. 2. To the Red River and Indian Reservation. 3. To the Red River and Indian Reservation.

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Masthead of first edition of The Nor'-Wester

As a sample of typography this broadside had little to recommend it, for the printer obviously had been an amateur. Many of the pieces of type had not been placed level in the frame, and in consequence the letters are uneven on the printed sheet. Because of bad inking, for the sake of legibility certain letters had had to be gone over with a pen as, for instance, the words "diffuse" and "Settlement." The spacing is also uneven, as in the first five words and in places commas seem to have been crowded in, most likely as an afterthought. The two middle digits in the imprint date the "8" and the "5", are blurred, but when examined under a magnifying glass the year is unquestionably 1859.

According to Alexander Begg's *Ten Years in Winnipeg*, the author of the broadside was the Reverend Griffith Owen Corbett,² a medical missionary who had come to the Red River Settlement under the sponsorship of the Colonial and Continental Church Society. Mr. Corbett arrived in the summer of 1852 to take charge of the Parish of Holy Trinity at Headingley. In 1855 he returned to England, where he remained until the summer of 1857. Early in the latter year, Corbett gave evidence in London before the House of Commons Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company and in his testimony took an anti-Company stance. After his return to the Red River Settlement Mr. Corbett was politically active in the debate on the future of Rupert's Land. He was undoubtedly the printer as well as the author of *A FEW REASONS FOR A CROWN COLONY*.

In the same year as the publication of Corbett's broadside, two young men from Upper Canada arrived at Fort Garry with a printing press and the intention of establishing a newspaper. The leader in the partnership was William Coldwell, a former schoolteacher with some journalistic experience. He had interested William Buckingham in the frontier venture. Coldwell had been reporter for *The Leader*, Buckingham for *The Globe*. To save freight costs from Toronto the partners purchased a Hoe's Washington Super-Royal Model press at St. Paul, Minnesota. On September 28 they started off with ox teams for Fort Garry. One team promptly ran away, scattering some of the type on the streets of St. Paul. After an arduous journey the pioneer printers reached their destination on November 1. In the little village growing up outside the walls of Upper Fort Garry they established their printing equipment in a thatched log shanty.³

The first issue of *The Nor-Wester* appeared on December 28, 1859. In size the paper was approximately 22 by 15 inches, four pages, five columns to the page, of small type.

The content and policy of *The Nor-Wester* during much of its ten-year life may be described as follows: the outside pages contained news and editorials, while

CHRISTIAN PRIVILEGE AND DUTY.

A SERMON.

PREACHED IN ST JOHN'S CATHEDRAL,
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

BY THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF REPENT'S LAND

ON SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 10TH, 1868.

Being the Sunday previous to His Lordship's departure
from the Settlement on a visit to the distant Moose Mis-
sions.

Published by request of the Members of the Congrega-
tion.

TOWN OF WINNIPEG.

PRINTED AT THE NOR WESTER OFFICE.

1868.



William Buckingham



William Coldwell

its central section was given over mostly to articles, usually of a sensational nature, excerpted from other newspapers. The paper tended to reflect the private views of its successive proprietors. Editorially, it was usually critical of the Council of Assiniboia and of the Hudson's Bay Company, and advocated union with Canada. The Settlement's two contemporary in-residence historians, Alexander Begg and J. J. Hargrave, regarded the paper as a disruptive agency in a period of uncertainty over the political future of the colony. Today *The Nor'wester* files are a source of information to the historian about an isolated British settlement during a period when there was an interplay between three factions: those who were happy with a continuation of the paternalistic and simplistic rule of the HBC, the few Americans who wished to give a boost to the 'manifest destiny' of American territorial expansion, and the Canadian party who looked forward to union with the emerging Dominion of Canada.

Since the publishers of newspapers generally stamp their personalities on the contents, some biographical information is in order. William Buckingham did not

PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERTS LAND.

The President and Representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land in Council, ("the Invaders of our rights being now expelled") already aware of your sympathy, do extend the hand of friendship to you our friendly^{fraternal} Inhabitants, and in doing so invite you to send twelve Representatives from the following places, viz.

St. Margret's 1, Headingly 1, St. James 1, St. Mary's 1, Kildonan 1, St. Paul's 1, St. Andrew's 1, St. Clement's 1, St. Peter's 1, Town of Winnipeg 2 in order to form one body with the above Council consisting of twelve members to consider the present political state of this Country, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed best for the future welfare of the same.

A meeting of the above Council will be held at the Court House at 4 o'clock on Tuesday the 1st day of November at which the invited Representatives will attend.

Winnipeg Nov. 26th 1842

By order of the President
L. O. L. S. R. P. L.
Scribe



FIRST NEWSPAPER OFFICE IN WESTERN CANADA
Plant arrived Nov. 1, 1859, First Newspaper Issued Dec. 28, 1859

long associate himself with *The Nor-West*, returning to Upper Canada the following year after disposing of his interest to a native son, James Ross. William Coldwell remained an owner until 1865 when, discouraged by the destruction of the printing establishment by fire he sold his share and returned to Upper Canada. He would again enter the scene of printing in Red River on the eve of the Red difficulties. Of Coldwell's personality nothing is known other than Alexander Begg's description written in 1869: "Mr. Colville [sic] appears to be an honest fair dealing man." He married the sister of his second partner, James Ross.

Ross was the half-breed son of Alexander Ross, a former prominent citizen in the Settlement. He was described by the Reverend David Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land as "a distinguished scholar at the Red River College of St. John's who afterwards went through a very creditable academic career at the University of Toronto." At the time he bought into *The Nor-West* he also held the offices of postmaster, sheriff and governor of the gaol in the Settlement. A partner in the newspaper from January 1860 until the end of 1863, Ross enjoyed fomenting excitement through the pages of the paper.

A curious episode in the history of the Red River press was the simultaneous circulation for signatures of an official petition and a rival petition to the British Government by the Council of Assiniboua and James Ross, respectively. In 1862 the massacre of some white settlers in Minnesota by Sioux Indians created alarm. On October 30 the Governor and Council of Assiniboua drafted a petition to the British Colonial Office requesting a garrison of troops to protect the Settlement against possible incursions of Sioux war parties. To give greater weight to the request the Council decided to invite the inhabitants to attach their signatures. As was Council practice, an edited copy of its deliberations was sent to *The Nor-West* as news to be printed.

GOVERNOR MACTAVISH

TO THE

INHABITANTS OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

My friends, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., in relation to the proposed extension of the Red River Settlement, and in reply to inform you that the same has been referred to the consideration of the Hon. the Secretary of the Interior, and that he has directed me to inform you that the same will be considered as soon as possible.

It is my duty to inform you that the Hon. the Secretary of the Interior has directed me to inform you that the same will be considered as soon as possible. I am, my friends, very respectfully,
Yours truly,
W. MACTAVISH,
 Governor of the Territory of Montana.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., in relation to the proposed extension of the Red River Settlement, and in reply to inform you that the same has been referred to the consideration of the Hon. the Secretary of the Interior, and that he has directed me to inform you that the same will be considered as soon as possible.

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Yours truly,
W. MACTAVISH,
 Governor of the Territory of Montana.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort Gary, this Sixteenth day of November, 1880.

L. S.]

W. MACTAVISH,
 Governor of Montana.

James Ross neglected to publish the resolutions in the petition, and hurriedly drafted his own. Thus embodied most of those in the Council's document but asked also for an end to Hudson's Bay Company rule. The circulation of an official petition and a counter petition confused the main issue: protection from the Sioux. Ross's suppression of news, in order to obtain signatures to a petition embodying his own political views, demonstrated a lack of journalistic ethics. The Council of Assiniboina retaliated November 25 by stripping him of the offices of postmaster, sheriff, and gaoler.

The excitement generated by the rival petitions had not subsided when, early in December, the Settlement was shocked by the arrest of the Reverend Mr. Corbett. He was charged with having attempted to procure an abortion on a sixteen-year-old girl working in his home as a domestic servant. During the circulation of the petitions Mr. Corbett had encouraged his parishioners to support the anti-Company one, now many persons suspected the authorities of trying to discredit the man. James Ross was prominent in organizing Corbett's defence. The clergyman's imprisonment, trial, conviction and forceable release from gaol continued to agitate the populace for some five months. The trial, with its sordid details, provided copy for several issues of *The Nor-Wester* making it as sensational reading as might today be found in the pages of a tabloid.

The Nor-Wester press printed only two separate imprints, unless the two supplements which appeared with the newspaper are counted. The first of the two supplements, a sermon or charge addressed to the clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, appeared in the second issue of *The Nor-Wester*, January 14, 1860. This was preached by the Right Reverend David Anderson, the first bishop, at St. John's Church on January 6. Another of the bishop's charges, delivered four years later to the day, was also printed as a supplement in the newspaper⁴.

The first booklet printed in the Settlement was the *LAWS OF ASSINIBOIA*. These were passed by the Governor and Council of Assiniboina on April 11, 1862, presumably the eight-page booklet was printed shortly thereafter. The colophon reads: Printed at the office of "The Nor-Wester" Red River Settlement.

The 1862 issue of the *LAWS OF ASSINIBOIA* is not to be confused with a reissue published nine years later and containing the legal accretions to 1869. This issue was published in Ottawa in 1871 under the aegis of the Department of Justice. When the latter department asked the new Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories, A. G. Archibald, to supply a copy of the Laws, he reported that he could find only one copy. Apparently stock copies of the original booklets were destroyed when Louis Riel seized the records of the Council of Assiniboina on

THE NOR'-WESTER AND PIONEER EXTRA.

WINNIPEG, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1869.

THE CRISIS!

Loyalty Triumphant!



The Governors Proclamation!

On the 12th instant the following Address was presented to Governor McTavish, signed by a large number of our most respectable inhabitants, and on the 17th a reply was issued, which will be found below:

Town of Winnipeg,
November, 12th, 1869.

To WILLIAM MCTAVISH Esq
Governor Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Garry

We the undersigned residents of the Town of Winnipeg and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and Ireland.

Reminding with great alarm the unsettled state of feeling existing in this Territory, and the threatening position assumed by a portion of its French speaking population towards the Crown, in the person of Her Majesty's representative, the future Governor of this Territory, and believing as we do, that this disaffection or dissatisfaction is the result of various slanderous interpretations having been—from time to time—disseminated among the people by

belonging as well to persons coming into the Colony as to persons already settled here and carrying on their business in the Settlement, thereby causing great loss and inconvenience not only to the owners of these goods, but, as has formally been complained of—also to the carriers of the same, and possibly involving the whole Colony in a ruinous responsibility.

Thirdly.—They have unlawfully interfered with the public mails, both outgoing and incoming, and, by that tampering with the established means of communication between the Settlement and the outside world, have shaken public confidence in the security of the mails, and given a shock to the trade and commerce of the Colony, of which the mischievous effects cannot now be fully estimated.

Fourthly.—Not only without permission, but in the face of repeated remonstrances on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company's officer in immediate charge of Fort Garry, they have, in numbers varying from about sixty to one hundred and twenty, billeted themselves on that establishment, under the plea of protecting it from a danger which they alleged was known by themselves to be imminent, but of which they have never yet disclosed the particular nature. They have placed armed guards at the gates of an establishment which, every stick and stone of it is private property; in spite of the most distinct protestations against such a disregard of the rights of property, they have taken possession of rooms within the Fort; and, although they have, there, as yet, committed no direct act of violence to person or property, beyond what has been enumerated, yet, by their presence in such number with arms, for no legitimate purpose—

November 23, 1869, and allegedly tossed them into a well. The copy of the 1862 edition presently in the Department of Justice in Ottawa is probably the one forwarded by Archibald.⁴

A disastrous fire in *The Nor' Wester* printing office on February 23, 1865, might well have caused an interruption of several years in newspaper printing in the Settlement. In such an isolated community it was surprising that the owners (for William Coldwell was now in partnership with Dr John C. Schultz) should have been able to marshal the press, type, and paper to print a newspaper by March 30.

Where were these scarce supplies obtained? The March 30 issue of *The Nor' Wester* stated that they came from "in the Settlement." The newspaper acknowledged indebtedness to the Venerable Archdeacon Hunter, the Reverend T. T. Smith, the Lord Bishop of St. Boniface, Mr. John Inkster, and numerous other parties who had "come forward to help us out of our difficulties." A quarter of a century later, in 1888, at a Press Club dinner in Winnipeg, Coldwell reminisced as follows.

The Bishop of Rupert's Land allowed us to use one of the old buildings belonging to St. John's College as a printing office. We got together a little type and paper which had been brought out for mission purposes, and from Mr. Alonzo Barnard (a Minnesotan versed in printing, preaching, and photography), we secured a hand-press of the most ancient ponderous and amazing build, possessing wuthal, warped and resisting qualities perhaps we ought to say eccentricities, which ensured the unfortunate pressman the hardest "pull" and the worst impression ever given by a hand-press in this or any other land.⁵

Because of the limited type available and the difficulties in setting the type and operating the press, *The Nor' Wester* appeared in reduced size, but its frequency was stepped up to every nine days instead of fortnightly in order to keep up with the news.

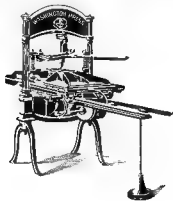
The type and paper "brought out for mission purposes" suggests that a hand press also existed in the Settlement. This explains how the Reverend G. O. Corbett had been able to print his broadside six years earlier. Never used for mission purposes, this printing press would later play a role during the Riel difficulties.

The same press was probably used to produce a crudely printed document, *THE BYLAW OF THE CLERGY WIDOW AND ORPHAN'S FUND OF THE DIOCESE OF RUPERT'S LAND*, to which the date circa 1868 has been assigned. It enumerates seven clauses and concludes with two forms, one the declaration of a clergyman's widow, the other of the guardian of his children. The printing is extremely uneven, obviously the work of someone who had little experience in setting type. The verso of the sheet has a better typographical appearance, this improvement no doubt coming from the practice in setting page one.

The second booklet to be printed in the Settlement came off *The Nor Wester* press in 1868 entitled *CHRISTIAN PRIVILEGE AND DUTY*. It was a sermon given May 10 by the Right Reverend Robert Machray, second Bishop of Rupert's Land, and was "Published by the request of the Members of the Congregation [sic]." The imprint reads: "Town of Winnipeg, Printed at the Nor-Wester office, 1868." The occasion was the departure of the bishop on a visitation to missions along the shores of Hudson and James Bays, a lengthy journey by canoe and one not without peril.

In the early 1950's a copy of this sermon was found in the attic of an old home being demolished in central Winnipeg. The wrecker gave the booklet to a local bibliophile, Mr. Nathan Arkin. It now reposes in the Lawrence Lande Collection of Canadiana at McGill University and is perhaps the only copy extant in Canada.

The changes in ownership of *The Nor Wester* press should be chronicled, for the ownership had a bearing on events during the political turmoil of 1869-70. Earlier in this narrative the original partnership of Coldwell and Buckingham was described, the subsequent withdrawal of the latter and his replacement for a time by James Ross. In March 1864, Dr. John C. Schultz bought a share in the printing press, and the following year, after the destruction of the printing establishment by fire, William Coldwell sold his interest to Schultz, and returned to Upper Canada. Dr. Schultz was now the sole owner. Three years later, in 1868, he sold the printing establishment to his close friend, a local dentist, Dr. Walter R. Bown, but seemingly continued to dominate the policy of the newspaper.



THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.
PROCLAMATION.

His Excellency the Honourable William Mackinnon, a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada, and Commander of the most Distinguished Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories, &c. &c. &c.

T all to e. on these shall come, great e. x

[illegible]

And whereas her Majesty has declared and enacted the first day of December instant as the day for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory into the union and Dominion of Canada; and whereas by virtue and in pursuance of the British North American Act of 1867, the Rupert's Land Act of 1868 and of subsequent Acts, the said land for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory was united with Canada; and the said declaration and order of her Majesty, Rupert's Land and the north-western territory have been reunited into union with, and have now become part of the Dominion of Canada, and are hereby to be known as the north-west Territories.

[illegible]

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Red River in the said Territories, the second day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the thirty-third year of Her Majesty's reign.

By command, I. A. N. Provancher, secretary

William Macdonnell



John Christian Schultz



Walter Robert Bown

John C. Schultz came to Red River originally as a medical practitioner but, becoming increasingly interested in commerce and politics, he finally abandoned medicine completely. He owned a retail business and dabbled in real estate while the newspaper gave him an opportunity to indulge his interest in politics. Schultz was a strong proponent of union with Canada.

Dr. Bown was, in disposition, the opposite to his friend Schultz. People considered Bown lacking in initiative but perhaps he had no need to demonstrate such a quality, since he was thought to be the recipient of a substantial annuity from England. The community found it difficult to understand the close friendship between the two men. After Bown took over *The Nor' Wester* the editor K. P. Meade, continued to visit Schultz for direction in policy according to George B. Winship, who joined the newspaper in May 1868.

During Schultz's ownership the press was located in a single room, twelve feet square, in his place of business, the White Store. When Dr. Bown became sole owner he moved the press into more commodious quarters, three rooms in the McDermot building, generally known in the community as the Red River Hall.

A description of the newspaper office and its equipment has been left by Winship:

it was the crudest and most primitive collection of printing material that I ever saw or have seen since in my rambles about the country. Its material consisted of worn out stuff discarded by printers in St. Paul and St. Anthony. The Washington hand press had a history worthy of preservation in the archives of the Manitoba Historical Society. It was said to have been the original hand press from which the St. Paul Pioneer was printed in 1849. In the early fifties the Pioneer office was partially destroyed by fire and the press fell from the second story into the cellar. It was recovered, patched up by a blacksmith and sold subsequently to the enterprising founder of the Nor'Wester together with a meagre assortment of type, galleys, rules, sticks and other things necessary for the publication of a weekly newspaper. When I looked upon this collection of old junk, noted the crippled condition of the press, the pied type on galleys and in the various cases and the chaotic state generally of the entire office I was somewhat disconcerted. I saw several weeks' clean up ahead of me before the regular edition of the paper could go to press. I asked the Doctor for permission to clean out the Augean Stables, as it were, before attempting to do anything else, and he gave me carte blanche to go to it as soon as possible. The delay of the next issue was unimportant as it was only issued twice a month at that time. The press had to be tinkered some, new ink rollers made, and all the type cases emptied and relaid. There was no imposing stone in the office, the forms being made up on the bed of the press, locked up with all kinds of quoins and by the plentiful use of duichmen; the whole collection inside the chases held together until the edition was run off. My predecessor took a short cut in making lye to wash the forms. In my apprenticeship days we used to leach it from ashes and several gallons at a time were needed, but my predecessor would dump a shovelful of ashes on the forms, pour on hot water, scrub with a brush, and then rinse off with cold water. Of course ashes were everywhere in the cases, on the galleys, in the forms and other places, and a stickful of type could not be lifted from one galley to another without danger of being pied." We got the type and some other things in fairly good shape, but the old press could not be improved much, and it was the source of much annoyance during my entire term of service. The bed was warped and every press day much time was spent in levelling up and readjusting things before the edition could be run off. The lever, and especially the elbow, would drop down every few minutes, and re-adjustment would consume much time, the consequence being that a whole day was spent in printing about four hundred copies of the paper.

This was the printing capability of the Settlement's one operational press on the eve of the political excitement which generated a flurry of broadsides. The publication of some of these is one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of printing in Canada.

In October 1869, the Honourable William McDougall, the man intended by the Dominion Government to assume the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the

LIST OF RIGHTS.

1. That the people have the right to elect their own Legislature.
2. That the Legislature have the power to pass all laws local to the Territory over the veto of the Executive by a two-thirds vote.
3. That no act of the Dominion Parliament (local to the Territory) be binding on the people until sanctioned by the Legislature of the Territory.
4. That all Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, School Commissioners, etc., be elected by the people.
5. A free Homestead and pre-emption Land Law.
6. That a portion of the public lands be appropriated to the benefit of Schools, the building of Bridges, Roads and Public Buildings.
7. That it be guaranteed to connect Winnipeg by Rail with the nearest line of Rail road, within a term of five years; the land grant to be subject to the Local Legislature.
8. That for the term of four years all Military, Civil, and Municipal expenses be paid out of the Dominion funds.
9. That the Military be composed of the inhabitants now existing in the Territory.
10. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature and Courts, and that all Public Documents and Acts of the Legislature be published in both languages.
11. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.
12. That Treaties be concluded and ratified between the Dominion Government and the several tribes of Indians in the Territory to ensure peace on the frontier.
13. That we have a fair and full representation in the Canadian Parliament.
14. That all privileges, customs and usages existing at the time of the transfer be respected.

All the above articles have been severally discussed and adopted by the French and English Representatives without a dissenting voice, as the conditions upon which the people of Rupert's Land enter into Confederation.

The French Representatives then proposed in order to secure the above rights, that a Delegation be appointed and sent to Pembina to see Mr. Macdougall and ask him if he could guarantee these rights by virtue of his commission; and if he could do so, that then the French people would join to a man to escort Mr. Macdougall into his Government seat. But on the contrary, if Mr. Macdougall could not guarantee such rights, that the Delegation request him to remain where he is, or return 'till the rights be guaranteed by Act of the Canadian Parliament.

The English Representatives refused to appoint Delegates to go to Pembina to consult with Mr. Macdougall, stating, they had no authority to do so from their constituents, upon which the Council was dissolved.

The meeting at which the above resolutions were adopted was held at Fort Garry, on Wednesday, Dec. 1, 1869
Winnipeg, December 4th, 1869.

North-West Territories after the formal transfer of Rupert's Land had taken place, arrived at Pembina on the American boundary. Neither the Hudson's Bay Company nor the Canadian government had prepared the people of Red River for the change in allegiance. In the transfer of the country from Company rule to Canada, were the rights of the inhabitants being properly protected? During this period, who had the power to exercise the responsibilities of civil administration? And in that isolated district, where news arrived late, when was the actual transfer of authority from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada to take place?

The Métis settlers, under the leadership of Louis Riel, refused Governor McDougall permission to enter the territory to exercise his commission to rule, and thus began the "disturbances of 1869-70."

This study will not attempt to follow the political developments of that winter except insofar as these bear directly on the printing of broadsides and other ephemera in the Red River Settlement.

The first of the "disturbance" broadsides, PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERTSLAND, was printed on November 6 at the insistence of Louis Riel. Riel asked Patrick G. Laurie, a printer living in the Settlement, to print the broadside, but, on instructions from Dr. Bown, Laurie refused. What happened that evening is related in Donald Gunn's *History of Manitoba*:

On the sixth of November Riel proceeded to the village and directed Mr. Walker Bown, proprietor of the *Nor-Wester* to print him a proclamation, and, on his refusing to do so, immediately made him a prisoner, placed a guard over the office, and caused the proclamation to be printed under the supervision of Mr. James Ross.³

According to Charles Marx, the poet, in a letter to Governor McDougall, the type for the broadside was set by a young Yankee named Walker, and the proofs revised by James Ross.

The PUBLIC NOTICE was an invitation from Louis Riel and his French-speaking council to the English settlers to send twelve representatives to form a joint council "to consider the present political state of this Country, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed best for the future welfare of the same." On the copy of the broadside in the Manitoba Archives the word "fellow" has been added with a pen where it is missing in the phrase "to you our friendly (fellow) Inhabitants." On this copy also the phrase "the Invaders of our rights being now expelled" has had parentheses placed around it. The copy of the broadside in the Public Archives of Canada is without these emendations.

At Pembina, McDougall wrote to Governor Mactavish of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry, urging him to issue a proclamation asking the armed Métis

to disperse. Unfortunately, Mactavish suffered from the same lack of information as others at Red River about negotiations between his Company and the government of Canada on the transfer of the governing authority; moreover he was a sick man, dying of consumption. Mactavish procrastinated because he did not believe the Métis would pay attention to any document he might issue, but his hand was forced when on November 12 the Canadian party in the Settlement "a large number of our most respectable inhabitants" presented an address requesting that he assert authority.



William McDougall



Governor William Mactavish

He finally issued his proclamation under date of November 16, the day Louis Riel had set for the English and French delegates to meet in council.

This broadside is headed GOVERNOR MACTAVISH TO THE INHABITANTS OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT. After the preamble, the Governor states that "during the last few weeks large bodies of armed men have taken up positions on the public high road to Pembina, and, contrary to the remonstrances and protests of the public authorities,

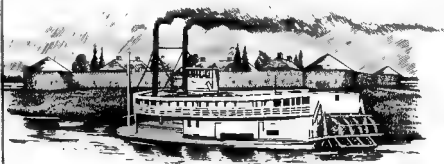
have committed the following unlawful acts." The proclamation enumerates five of these. He concludes by deploring these acts and asking the armed men to disperse.

A manuscript copy of Mactavish's proclamation was taken to the council Riel had called and which was then in session. When the copy was handed to Sheriff Henry McKenney to read, the French delegates objected, while the English delegates insisted on it being presented. The effect of the proclamation was to further arouse the animosity between the two groups.

The Mactavish proclamation was not printed at *The Nor-Wester* office but on a new press recently brought to the Settlement. That early printer, William Coldwell, had returned after an absence of four years with the intention of again establishing a printing business and a newspaper. He anticipated a rapid development of the country once it had been taken over by Canada. In mid-November he was in the process of setting type for the first issue of his new paper, *The Pioneer*; events were to prevent its publication except in hybrid form.

On the same day as the printing of the Mactavish proclamation at *The Pioneer* office, November 17, an extra of *The Nor-Wester* appeared with the title *The Nor-Wester and Pioneer*. It was an overt attempt to undermine Coldwell's new enterprise.

The Nor-Wester and Pioneer's extra was headlined *The Crisis! Loyalty Triumphant! The Governor's Proclamation!* The extra is printed in double column, on one side of the paper only. The content is given over to an address of the citizens to Mactavish and to the latter's proclamation.⁹ The extra's version of the proclamation did not contain Mactavish's fifth point. According to Alexander Begg, *The Nor-Westerns* staff had succeeded in obtaining, by devious means, a copy of the proclamation, but apparently in mutilated form.¹⁰ With its extra *The Nor-Wester* scooped the news, for it appeared before *The Pioneer* office had run off and distributed the official text.





Lower Fort Garry, Red River Settlement,
December 9, 1869

To all whom it may concern.

By certain printed papers of late date put in circulation by the French party, communication with the Lieutenant-Governor is indicated with a view to bringing before him alleged claims on the part of those now in arms.

I think that course very desirable, and that it would lead to good results.

Under the belief that the party in arms are sincere in their desire for peace, and feeling that to abandon for the present the call on the loyal to arms would, in view of such communication, relieve the situation of much embarrassment, and so contribute to bring about peace and save the country from what will otherwise end in ruin and desolation, I now call on and order the loyal party in the North West Territories to cease further action under the appeal to arms made by me; and I call on the French party to satisfy our people of their sincerity in wishing for a peaceful ending of all these troubles by sending a representative to the Lieutenant Governor at Pembina without unnecessary delay.

Given under my hand at the Lower Fort Garry this 9th day of December, 1869.

J. S. DENNIS,
Lieut., and Conservator of the Peace in and for the
North West Territories.

The first days of December saw climactic events in the Red River Settlement. Assuming that Canada would take over Rupert's Land on December 1, Governor-designate McDougall, still at Pembina in Dakota Territory, issued two proclamations and had them smuggled into the Settlement. Publication of the proclamations was premature, as Canada had delayed acceptance of the transfer of Rupert's Land.

The courier who carried the first proclamation was Colonel J. Stoughton Dennis, a Dominion land surveyor who had been in the Settlement since the previous summer. He arrived at Lower Fort Garry on the morning of December 1. During the day, the rumour spread in Winnipeg that he carried the Queen's proclamation in his pocket and that it would be issued at once. Alexander Begg, in his private journal of events at Red River, said that the clerks in the colonel's office hastily wrote out, in English and French, large-sized copies of the proclamation, adding:

It certainly did not reflect much credit upon those who wrote these copies for more miserable daubs could hardly have been produced.¹¹

Certified as true copies by D. A. Grant, they were posted on the doors of several stores in the town.

The history of Canadian printing contains no more exciting episode than the surreptitious printing of the proclamation. Both *The Nor'Wester* and *The Pioneer* were stopped from publishing by Riel about December 1, although Begg's journal records it as happening on the evening of December 2. Indeed, Métis soldiers were using the printing office of *The Nor'Wester* as a guardroom.

Colonel Dennis importuned Laurie to find means to print the McDougall proclamation. Laurie conspired with fellow printer Winship, who worked in *The Nor'Wester* printing office, to purloin the necessary font of type from under the very noses of the Métis guards:

I could enter and leave the Nor'-Wester office without causing suspicion. I had been recently employed there, and, notwithstanding its use as a guard room by Riel's forces, it was natural that I should drift in occasionally to enjoy the atmosphere of my former scene of labor. My first call at the office was brief but it enabled me to locate certain printing material I wanted. The next time I accomplished something. Two of the guards were friendly, I having met them at dances, and drank from the same canteen as it were. Under pretext of readjusting some of the cases and stands to give the guards more room, I was permitted to potter about in the office for some time, and when I got through, much of the printing material and furniture was compactly piled in one end of the room, and the guards had more space for their card table and impedimenta. But while doing all that, I was getting just what was wanted to print Dennis' proclamation. I selected from the biggest bold-face type in the office enough to form the word, "Proclamation," which, with an assortment of rules and leads, and a composing stick, I secreted on my person. I also filled a double galley full of long-primer type, which happened to be in an "unsped"

LISTE DES DROITS

Revendiqués par le peuple de la Terre du Riptide et du Nord-Ouest, et conditions sous lesquelles ce peuple consacrerait à contrôler dans la Confédération Canadienne.

- [illegible]

Maison du Gouvernement, Fort Garry, le 23 Mars, 1870.

condition, securely locked the galley with wooden quoins, and placed it in the room adjoining, which had previously served me as a bedroom. I did that because I saw the futility of attempting to carry away the materials without some way of hiding them from view. I withdrew with my first installment of printing material such as I could carry in my pockets, and subsequently returned wearing a long overcoat under which I secreted the galley of type, and walked out of the room without causing suspicion.

I have forgotten just where Mr. Laurie and I located our improvised printing shop, but it was in some back room on Main Street, not far from the old Emmerling Hotel. It taxed our ingenuity to devise a plan to distribute the type without having "cases," but finally enough small paper boxes were procured to serve our purpose, and the work of "setting up" the proclamation began. We expected to have it ready for the "press" before the following morning, but running out of "sorts" compelled us to stop work until I could make another raid on The Nor'wester office, which I successfully accomplished during the forenoon of the next day. While the setting up of the proclamation was laborious, the printing of it subsequently was a painfully slow tedious job. It was printed by the "planer process" and took us all the afternoon and most of the night to print 300 copies. Early in the morning of December 1, copies of the proclamation were distributed in Winnipeg, and others were sent to the lower settlement and to the settlements up the Assiniboine river. It caused a sensation throughout the colony, and from that date the activity of the opposition began, and the campaign assumed a more warlike appearance.¹²

The author is at variance with other sources in giving the date of issue as December 1. While the proclamation was intended to appear on that date, a shortage of materials delayed the printing a day. The proclamation in printed form most likely appeared on December 3.

This first McDougall proclamation was entitled as coming from the Queen, but was signed only by the would-be governor's secretary, J. A. N. Provencher. The essence of the long legal document was that from December 1 Rupert's Land was an integral part of Canada and that William McDougall was governor of this new Canadian territory.

The first line of McDougall's proclamation reads THE NORTH WEST [Royal Arms] TERRITORIES. The royal arms are off centre, too low, and at an angle. The words "Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom and Ireland, Queen defender of the Faith, etc., etc." run across the page, while the remainder of the text is in three columns. The last paragraph, which states the place "Red River" and the date, "The first day of December," is indented.

The impression of the letters is uneven, with a few letters missing or partially obscured, thus supporting Winship's story of it being printed by the planer method. In gathering up type to print the proclamation, Winship failed to appreciate the frequency with which the letter "j" would occur. The proclamation was somewhat repetitious in its use of such words and phrases as "jurisdiction," "justice," "Her Majesty" and "Her subjects." In the first paragraph the word "majesty" occurs three

POUR

Prouver aux nations sauvages que le peuple de la Rivière Rouge ne veut pas les laisser maltraiter par le Canada, nous avons dit au Gouvernement Canadien que nous consentions à entrer avec lui.

1^o. Si la terre de Rupert et le Nord-Ouest entrent dans la Confédération Canadienne avec tous les droits communs aux autres provinces.

2^o. Si des traités sont conclus entre le Canada et les différentes tribus Indiennes de la terre de Rupert et du Nord-Ouest, par l'avis et la co-operation de la Législature du pays.

LOUIS RIEL.

*Maison du Gouvernement,
Fort Garry, le 23 Mars, 1870.*

times and each time a "j" is used, but thereafter a lower case "f," turned upside down, serves the purpose until paragraph nine where two more "j"s appear before the printer reverted back to "f"s. The printer was also short of apostrophes and used inverted commas instead.

On December 1, when a handwritten copy of McDougall's first proclamation became available at Fort Garry, the French-speaking delegates were meeting. Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne was selected to carry a copy to them. The French then invited the English-speaking representatives to meet in joint session. All remained in council until four o'clock when the French asked to meet separately. The two groups reconvened as a joint council at six o'clock. The French delegates now presented a List of Rights to be guaranteed by Canada before the Red River Settlers would enter confederation; this the English delegates agreed to support. When printed the list contained fourteen points.

The List of Rights was printed in Winnipeg under the date December 4. At the end of the list are four paragraphs, in smaller type, describing the meeting at which these had been approved. Begg, in his journal for December 4, stated that the broadside was being distributed and posted that day.

Meanwhile, at Lower Fort Garry, Colonel Dennis was collecting a press and type to print further proclamations. The following are excerpted from his daily reports to Governor McDougall, still at Pembina:

December 2nd the printing presses in the town (Winnipeg) remaining in the armed custody of the French sent Mr. Laurie, a practical printer, up to Winnipeg for a small hand press and type lent by Dr. Schultz.

December 3rd the hand printing press having arrived this morning, Mr. Laurie set up and printed the Proclamation, a number of which were distributed through the Settlement. ¹³

According to Laurie, the press belonged to the Church Missionary Society ¹⁴ In reminiscences written many years later, but said to have been based on a rough diary kept at the time of the events, Laurie recalled:

A quantity of printing material, having been secretly abstracted from the Nor. Wester office, I went down that night carrying it and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. It was a blinding snowstorm, and the thermometer 17 below zero.

An examination of the Lower Fort Garry proclamation suggests that it is the same type as used by Winship and Laurie to print the first McDougall proclamation the previous night in Winnipeg. The hand press was in all likelihood the one which Corbett had used a decade earlier to print his reasons for a crown colony, and which Coldwell used for a short time after the unfortunate fire in his printing office in 1865.

The proclamation alluded to in Dennis' report for December 3 was his commission to act on McDougall's behalf. In his diary for December 7, Alexander Begg recorded having seen a copy of Colonel Dennis' commission and added that it was printed "on a handpress somewhere about Lower Fort Garry."

Colonel Dennis had been commissioned by Governor McDougall as his "Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace" in the Red River Settlement. This commission states that "whereas large bodies of armed men have unlawfully assembled on the high road between Fort Garry and Pembina" Colonel Dennis was authorized and empowered "to raise, organize, arm, equip and provision a sufficient force and with said force, to attack, arrest, disarm or disperse the said armed men as unlawfully assembled and disturbing the public peace."

Dennis' intent in publicizing his commission was to rally armed support for the Canadian party. Appended at the bottom of the commission is an invitation from the new Conservator of the Peace for all loyal men to assist by every means in their power to help restore public peace and order, and to uphold the supremacy of the Queen. While the commission is dated December 1, this appendix is dated December 6 at the Stone Fort. Dennis' daily reports, quoted above, refer to the commission being printed on December 3. Was Dennis' appeal printed on that date and deliberately post dated or were the copies of the commission run through the press a second time on December 6 the day before Begg recorded that the commission was being distributed?

Dennis' commission is captioned THE NORTH WEST [ROYAL ARMS] TERRITORIES, the type and royal arms being identical to that used in McDougall's first proclamation. The commission is printed in triple column, with Dennis' appeal to the populace running full across the bottom of the page. Like McDougall's proclamation, inverted "f"s were used for "j"s; three of the latter were used in the first three words where the letter was required, and in the final "Her Majesty" in the text. The unevenness of the printing resembles that of the McDougall proclamation.

In the Manitoba Archives is another printing of Colonel Dennis' commission, a larger and official looking document on oolskin. At the top of the page is a large coat of arms which would seem to be identical with the one used in the printing of Colonel Wolseley's proclamation to THE LOYAL INHABITANTS printed by *The New Nation* press seven months later. This edition must have been printed at a later date, Colonel Dennis may have found it politically desirable to have his official commission printed retroactively. His actions during his ten days in the Red River Settlement in December 1869 would have some legality if he could demonstrate that he had been a properly commissioned Canadian civil servant.

At Lower Fort Garry a second McDougall proclamation was printed. Thus stated that he was retaining in office, until further notice, all public officers and functionaries

PROCLAMATION

To the People of the North-West.

Let the Assembly of twenty-eight Representatives which met on the 9th March, be dear to the people of Red River! That Assembly has shown itself worthy of great confidence. It has worked in union. The members devoted themselves to the public interests and yielded only to sentiments of good will, duty and generosity. Thanks to that noble conduct, public order is now secure. That strength will be employed to sustain and protect the people of the country.

TO-DAY the Government pardons all those whose political differences led astray only for a time. Amnesty will be generously accorded to all those who will submit to the Government, who will discontinue or inform against dangerous gatherings.

FROM this day forth the public highways are open.

THE Hudson's Bay Company can now resume business. Themselves contributing to the public good, they circulate their money as of old. They pledge themselves to that course.

THE attention of the Government is also directed very specially to the Northern part of the country, in order that trade there may not receive any serious check, and peace in the Indian districts may thereby be all the more securely maintained.

THE disastrous war which at one time tormented us, has left among us fears and various deplorable results. But let the people feel reassured.

ELEVATED by the Grace of Providence and the suffrages of my fellow-citizens to the highest position in the Government of my country, I proclaim that peace reigns in our midst this day. The Government will take every precaution to prevent this peace from being disturbed.

WHILE internally and thus returning to order, externally also, matters are looking favorable. Canada invites the Red River people to an amicable arrangement. She offers to guarantee us our rights and to give us a place in the Confederation equal to that of any other Province.

IDENTIFIED with the Provisional Government, our national will, based upon justice, shall be respected.

HAPPY country, to have escaped many misfortunes that were prepared for her! In seeing her children on the point of a war, she recollects the old friendship which used to bind us, and by the ties of the same patriotism she has re-united them again for the sake of preserving their lives, their liberties, and their happiness.

LET us remain united, and we shall be happy. With strength of unity we shall retain prosperity.

O MY fellow-countrymen, without distinction of language or without distinction of creed—keep my words in your hearts! If ever the time should unhappily come when another division should take place amongst us, such as foreigners heretofore sought to create, that will be the signal for all the disasters which we have had the happiness to avoid.

IN order to prevent similar calamities, the Government will treat with all the severity of the law those who will dare again to compromise the public security. It is ready to act against the disorder of parties as well as against that of individuals. But let us hope rather that extreme measures will be unknown, and that the lessons of the past will guide us in the future.

LOUIS RIEL.

"excepting the public officer or functionary at the head of the administration of affairs" (i.e. Governor Mactavish). This proclamation is dated December 2 and the background of its printing is found in Colonel Dennis' daily reports:

Printed and distributed the Lieutenant Governor's Proclamation confirming the former officials in office.¹⁸

The entry was for December 6. Alexander Begg saw a copy the following day.

This proclamation was the one which McDougall had read on Canadian territory (actually still Hudson's Bay Company territory) when he slipped across the border the evening of December 1. As Dennis had already left Pembina for the Settlement, and as the proclamation was printed several days after the first, the manuscript copy may have been brought to Lower Fort Garry by another courier.

McDougall's second proclamation, like his first, has the caption THE NORTH WEST [ROYAL ARMS] TERRITORIES. On a second line in larger type is a single word PROCLAMATION. Rather than being arranged in columns as it was in the first proclamation, the print runs across the page and the lines and letters are properly spaced and even. This latter suggests that a press had been used in the production of the proclamation. The type in the caption line is identical to that in both the earlier proclamations and in the Dennis Commission, while the royal arms is slightly awry as in these two documents. As in the Dennis Commission, the first two times the word "majesty" is used, a proper "j" is found, thereafter it is an inverted "i" until the last "Her Majesty" in the final line.

Colonel Dennis found that the English settlers could not be depended upon to support McDougall in his efforts to assert his authority. On December 9 he issued what became known in the Settlement as the "peace proclamation." Addressed TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, the key sentence was "I now call on and order the loyal party in the North-West Territories to cease further action under the appeal to arms made by me." The type in the first line of each paragraph is larger than that in the remaining lines, and consequently the print is not aesthetically pleasing. At the top of this appeal the royal arms are printed from a different die than hitherto used. The broadside was the last document to be printed at Lower Fort Garry.

Two days earlier Riel's party in Winnipeg had issued, in English and French, a DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF RUPERT'S LAND AND THE NORTH WEST. Preliminary editions in both languages appeared on December 7. These are on paper of foolscap size, the French version occupying only half a page, and they carry neither the names of the originators nor any date. Alexander Begg in his diary for December 7 states that the preliminary editions were printed by William Coldwell at *The Red River Pioneer* office, and that they were

incorrectly printed and issued in an unfinished state at first and afterwards corrected and sent out.

At Lower Fort Garry Colonel Dennis recorded on the same date as Begg that he had seen the preliminary French version.

While at Mr Black's, Mr Caldwell [sic] arrived from the town, bringing a copy in French of what may be styled a "Declaration of Independence" and bearing unmistakably the mark of American influence. Mr Caldwell said he had been forced to print it, that the French were not satisfied to keep his press from him but in addition, forced him to work for them by threats of armed men, who were placed in possession.⁴

The final printing of the Declaration, in English and French, was dated December 8 and bore the names of the president and secretary of the provisional government, namely John Bruce and Louis Riel.

The Declaration proclaimed the establishment of a provisional government. It said in effect that since the Hudson's Bay Company had transferred its governing rights to Canada "by transactions with which the people were considered unworthy to be made acquainted, and whereas it is also generally admitted that a people is at liberty to establish any form of government it may consider suitable to its wants, as soon as the power to which it is subject abandons it, or attempts to subjugate it, without its consent, to a foreign power " the people of the Settlement had formed a provisional government. The new government was prepared to enter into such negotiations with Canada as might be favourable for the good government and the prosperity of the local populace.

During the early part of December 1869 the town of Winnipeg was not a healthy place for printers. Dr. Bown, proprietor of the confiscated *Nar-Wester* office, fled town on December 6. One of the printers of the rival press set off for Pembina, but was turned back by the Métis. Soon afterwards Mr Caldwell decided to sell the press on which he had not yet printed a single issue of his proposed newspaper.

On December 22, according to Begg's diary, "a bargain was made between Mr Caldwell and Messrs. Robinson and Stutsman for the printing press, type, etc. of *The Red River Pioneer* newspaper for the sum of £550." When the paper appeared it did so as *The New Nation*, and as Riel's mouthpiece.

The first issue of January 7, 1870, was a queer hybrid. The outside pages were those of what was to have been the first issue of *The Red River Pioneer*, intended by Caldwell to have been offered to the public about December 1, the two inside pages were those of *The New Nation*. Thus, in political allegiance the outside pages supported William McDougall, while the inside favoured Louis Riel. The owner and editor of the new organ, Major Henry Martin Robinson, was an American trader and journalist living in Winnipeg. His natural sympathies favoured annexation by the United States.



TO THE LOYAL INHABITANTS OF MANITOBA.

Her Majesty's Government having determined upon the fitting arms troops amongst you, I have been instructed by the Lieut. General Commanding in British North America to proceed to Fort Garry with the force under my Command.

Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the expedition is to secure Her Majesty's sovereign authority.

Courts of Law, such as are common to every portion of Her Majesty's Empire, will be duly established, and Justice will be impartially administered to all men and to all classes. The Loyal Indians or Half-breeds being as dear to our Queen as any others of Her Loyal Subjects.

The Force which I have the honor of commanding will enter your Province representing no party, either in Religion or Politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and of all creeds.

The strictest order and discipline will be maintained and private property will be carefully respected. All supplies furnished by the inhabitants to the Troops will be duly paid for, should any one consider himself injured by any individual attached to the force, his grievance shall be promptly required into.

All Loyal people are earnestly invited to aid me in carrying out the above mentioned objects.

G. J. WOLSELEY,

COLONEL.

Commanding Red River Force

Au peuple loyal de Manitoba.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté La Reine d'Angleterre ayant pris la résolution de mettre en garnison quelques régiments dans le Territoire du Manitoba, j'ai été instruit par le Lieutenant Général, Commandant des Provinces Britanniques de l'Amérique du Nord, de conduire la force sous mes ordres au Fort Garry.

Nous venons apporter la paix et le seul objet de cette expédition, c'est de faire connaître l'autorité de Sa Majesté la Reine.

Des Cours de Justice, telles qu'il existe dans toutes les autres Provinces de l'Empire de Sa Majesté seront établies.

La Justice sera rendue sans partialité envers aucune classe, ou aucune race, les Anglais et les Noms Loyaux, sont aussi chers à Sa Majesté que ses autres Sujets.

Les soldats que j'ai l'honneur de commander ne représenteront point de parti, ni de religion ni de politique, et ils sont venus ici pour protéger la vie et les biens de tous sans distinction de race ou de culte.

L'ordre et la discipline la plus rigide sera maintenue dans tous rangs, et le personnel de tous les habitants ne sera sujet à aucun danger.

Tout ce que les habitants fourniront aux troupes leur sera payé.

Si quelques habitants ont cause de se plaindre de la conduite d'un ou d'un individu appartenant à cette brigade, il devra qu'il constate le fait devant moi pour obtenir de la justice.

Chaque sujet loyal de la Reine est prié de nous assister, de manière à accomplir le but et donner suite.

G. J. WOLSELEY,

COLONEL.

Commandant de l'expédition à la Rivière Rouge

PRINCE ARTHUR'S LANDING,

20 JUIL 1870

Printed at New Nation Office Winnipeg 21st Feb 1870

After the New Year, Riel's provisional government issued proclamations and printed bills and minutes of the legislature. These were printed at *The New Nation* office.

The first circular of the provisional government appeared on January 8. An ORDER OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND informed the populace that because of ill health John Bruce had resigned as president and had been succeeded by Louis Riel, with Louis Schmidt now secretary. It also listed other changes in the government. Three days later Begg's diary (our source of information on this broadside) stated that all copies were being called in, with Riel's soldiers being sent to collect those distributed, apparently there was a lack of unanimity within the French party. Thus no doubt explains why no copy of the broadside is to be found in either the Manitoba Archives or the Public Archives of Canada.

On February 11 Dr. Bown's *Nor-Wester* printing office and fixtures were confiscated by Riel. As indicated earlier, the editor had fled the Settlement in December. Begg reported that the greater portion of the type had been melted into bar lead for bullets, which perhaps proves that in the short term bullets can be a greater force than printers' slugs.

The New Nation, under the editorship of Major Robinson, was also experiencing difficulties with Riel. The leader sometimes expressed disapproval of its content or

tone. Begg noted on February 19 that the newspaper's description of events was so "flippant" that Riel had stopped the issue, saying that he would not allow a single copy to leave the Settlement. On March 4, following the execution of Thomas Scott, Riel insisted on approving the report to appear in the press. A run for distribution outside the Settlement was struck off, its pages devoid of any reference to the execution. After a delay, the "home" edition was published containing a version edited by Riel. The paper was again stopped on March 18 when the president took umbrage at an account of the provisional legislature's proceedings. Thereupon Robinson resigned in disgust, and Thomas Spence took over the management of the paper, printing a more sedate journal.



Major Henry Robinson

BILL.

An Act respecting the Hay Privilege.

WHEREAS, it is expedient to convert the two-mile hay privilege heretofore enjoyed by inhabitants of Red River, into a fee simple ownership, be it therefore enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboa:—

1. THAT the Two-mile Hay Privilege heretofore enjoyed by the people of Red River, is converted by Act of this Legislature into a fee simple ownership.

BILL.

An Act Providing for the due Administration of Public Justice.

WHEREAS it is considered expedient to provide for the due Administration of Public Justice, be it therefore enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboa:—

1. THAT all the Justices, Magistrates and all the subordinate officials (as far as may be deemed expedient and practicable) who held office under the Governor and Council of Assiniboa, be appointed and empowered to act in their several capacities under the Provisional Government, and that new Judicial Districts be formed, and new officials appointed where it may be deemed necessary,—that is to say, in cases where the old officials cannot be reappointed on account of death, disqualification or disqualification of any kind;—and also in cases where new Districts may hereafter be formed, as at the Portage, Oak Point and Manitoba; and the salaries hitherto paid to officials shall remain the same, until they have been altered by the Legislature.

2. THAT the days for holding the Courts be fixed as much in accordance with the regulations which have previously existed, as may be found expedient. That all local laws and regulations which were in operation under the rule of the Governor and Council of Assiniboa, be adopted for the present, it being always understood that wherever in these laws, reference is made to the Governor and Council of Assiniboa, the President and Legislative Assembly of Assiniboa will be substituted; and wherever the words "District of Assiniboa" are used, the word "Assiniboa" will be substituted, that it is not considered expedient to hold any Court before the next session of the Legislature.

On March 9 another provisional government circular appeared with the caption, OFFICIAL ORDER. IT IS HEREBY ORDERED THAT THE TOWN OF WINNIPEG BE AND SHALL BE HEREAFTER THE CAPITAL OF THE NORTH WEST. In the circular the boundaries were set out. It was signed "By order of the President; Louis Schmidt, Asst. Secy" and dated March 5. Like the circular of January 8, no copy seems to have survived.

The next proclamation, dated March 23, was entitled LISTE DES DROITS. The preamble read "Revendiques par le peuple de la Terre de Rupert et du Nord-Ouest et conditions sous lesquelles ce peuple consentirait a entrer dans la Confederation Canadienne." These rights had been discussed by the provisional legislature and were drawn up for the instruction of the delegates being sent to Ottawa to negotiate with the Canadian government. As there were twenty points, the broadside is a long one printed in small type. Apparently this document was printed only in French.

The same day saw the publication of a short circular addressed to the Indians, "POUR PROUVER AUX NATIONS SAUVAGES QUE LE PEUPLE DE LA RIVIERE ROUGE NE VEUT PAS LES LAISSER MALTRAITER PAR LE CANADA." The first word "pour" is set in large type as a caption, and as such was meaningless: the compositor probably did not understand French.

The provisional legislature held its first session on March 9 and, like many another legislative body, decided to publicize its activities. The result of the one-day sitting was the MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF RUPERT'S LAND. It is a four-page leaflet with a caption title. The last page reads "No. 1, 1st Session, 1st Legislature Fort Garry, Wednesday, 9th March, 1870. Minutes of proceedings of the Legislature of Rupert's Land, Winnipeg. Printed by H. M. Robinson & Company, 1870."

On March 24, 25, and 26 this same press ran off four short bills which were then under consideration by the Legislature. Bill No. 1 was one respecting the haying privilege. The next bill provided for the administration of justice, and the third arranged for a military force of fifty men. The fourth bill was one providing for the indemnity of members of the Legislature. Bill No. 5 was Bill No. 1, with a lengthy paragraph added.

In April, two more circulars were issued in quick succession by Riel's government. The first of these was in French, AUX HABITANTS DU NORD ET DU NORD-OUEST. At the top of the circular the location was given "Maison du Gouvernement Provisoire, Fort Garry, 7 Avril, 1870" and at the bottom the authority "Par ordre du President; Louis Schmidt, Asst. Sec. d'Etat." The content was intended to conciliate the opponents of the provisional government. The English translation said "This message is a message of peace." Apparently the English version was printed only in the pages of *The New Nation*.

BILL.

An Act Providing for a Military Force.

WHEREAS it is considered necessary for the protection of life and property in this country, to have an organized force to support law and ensure order, be it therefore enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia:—

THAT a body of fifty men be recruited from the different sections of the country, and that this body of men be regularly organized, and retained at Fort Garry for the service of the Executive. That each man so recruited and organized, shall receive a monthly payment of £3 sterling and board, as compensation; and that the term of each man's service shall be for two months.

BILL.

An Act Respecting Indemnity to Members.

WHEREAS it is considered necessary in the interests of the public service to remunerate the Representatives composing the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, be it therefore enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia:

1. THAT the Representatives in the Legislative Assembly be each paid the sum of Five Dollars per day, for each day of attendance in Parliament on public business,—That the sum of Twelve Shillings per diem of said amount, may be taken up by each member during the session or sessions, which may intervene until further arrangements are made by this hon. House. On the completion of said arrangements, each member to be entitled to the balance of the amount due him, counting at the rate of £1 sterling a day.

BILL.

An Act Respecting the Hay Privilege.

WHEREAS it is desirable to preserve intact what is popularly known as the Two-mile Hay Privilege, be it therefore enacted by the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia:—

1 THAT no person shall be allowed to be a squatter on the rear of any of the occupied lots on the Red or Assiniboine rivers, at a less distance than four miles from the river frontage of said lots. Nor shall any person, other than the owners or occupiers of said lots, (fronting on the said rivers) be allowed the right of ploughing or otherwise making use of said rear lots, without the consent of the proper owners or occupiers of said front lots. This bill to continue in full force until amended or repealed by the Legislature of the country, and to take effect immediately

The second circular appeared two days later entitled PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST. It was signed "LOUIS RIEL, Government House, Fort Garry, April 9, 1870." In it Riel, pardoned "all those whom political differences led astray for a time," declared the public highways open and stated that the Hudson's Bay Company could now resume business. The last half of this circular was mostly political verbiage.

The final document issued by Louis Riel is dated May 14 and has the title PROTESTATION DES PEUPLES DU NORD-OUEST. This lengthy document is a statement of the position of the French speaking inhabitants of the Red River Settlement in their quarrel with the Canadian government. Begg does not record the "Protestation" and it is possible that the document was a draft never released to the public.

The last of the "Red River disturbances" broadsides was printed at the request of Colonel Garnet Wolseley, the leader of the military force sent by the Imperial and Canadian governments to restore order at Red River. TO THE LOYAL INHABITANTS OF MANITOBA, AL PEUPLE LOYAL DE MANITOBA. It is in two columns, English on the left, French on the right, and was dated "Prince Arthur's Landing, 30 Jun 1870" and signed "G. J. Wolseley, Colonel, commanding Red River Force." Its intent was to assure the inhabitants that the purpose of the militia force was to "secure Her Majesty's sovereign authority," and that the strictest discipline would be maintained, private property respected, and supplies for the troops duly paid for.

The manuscript of Wolseley's proclamation was brought into the Settlement by a mysterious stranger aboard the steamboat *International*. Before the boat docked the traveller leapt ashore and disappeared. Later intelligence revealed that he was Captain W. F. Butler. On July 22 Riel received a copy of the proclamation. Its receipt is described in Begg's Journal:

This morning Riel received from Mr. J. H. MacTavish a Proclamation from Genl or Colonel Wolseley brought into the settlement by the mysterious stranger. Riel after some consultation decided upon printing and issuing a couple of hundred copies and distributing them amongst the people. This was accordingly done and caused a great deal of feeling amongst the "truly loyal" because Riel attempted to circulate a Royal Proclamation.

That night, July 22, the lights burned late in the office of *The New Nation* as Wolseley's proclamation was set in type and run off. The amazing feature of the printing was that it was supervised by none other than Louis Riel, president of the provisional government.

The expeditionary force reached Fort Garry on August 24, the Riel regime came to an end, and with it the most exciting pages in the history of printing in Western Canada.

FOOTNOTES

Begg, Alexander. *Ten Years in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1879), p. 121.

²For a biographical sketch of the Reverend G. O. Corbett see the author's "Introduction" to the reprint of Corbett's *Poems on Rapture's America* which appeared at the Bibliographica Society of Canada's Facsimile Series, No. 8, 1967.

³Innes, Campbell, ed. *The Story of the West* (Saskatoon: Canadian North-West Historical Society, 1928). A paper by Wm. Coldwell read at a Winnipeg Press Club dinner in 1888 describes the founding of The New West: pp. 35-37.

⁴Both of Bishop Andersen's sermons were printed the same year as described in pamphlet form by Hatchard in London.

⁵Information supplied by Mr. R. A. Watt, Public Archives of Canada.

⁶Innes, *op. cit.* p. 29.

⁷Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 14-15.

⁸Gutin, Donald. *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1880), p. 384.

⁹The copy of *The New West* in extra in the Public Archives of Canada, perhaps the only copy in Canada, is mutilated as the lower half is missing.

¹⁰Begg, Alexander. *The Creation of Manitoba* (Toronto, 1871), p. 110.

¹¹Alexander Begg kept a journal of the events over the winter of 1869-70. This was published by the Champlain Society in 1936 under the title *Begg's Red River Journal and other Papers Relating to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870* (Edited by W. L. Morton). The author of this article has used Begg's Journal as his main and most reliable source. Begg's *History of the North-West* (Toronto, 1894-95) in three volumes has also been consulted.

¹²Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 18-19.

¹³Canada, Governor General, 1869-1872 (Légis) Correspondence and papers connected with the recent occurrences in the North-West Territories (Canadian Sessional Papers, 1870, No. 12, Ottawa, 1870) pp. 108-109.

¹⁴Innes, *op. cit.* p. 43.

¹⁵Canada, Governor General, *op. cit.* p. 113.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

Red River Settlement Imprints

- 1 A FEW REASONS FOR A CROWN COLONY [Text Broadside 34 lines Type-page 31 x 16 cm. COLONIAL
Headings Press 1859 Winnipeg City Clerk's Office
- 2 LAWS OF ASSINIBOIA Passed by the Governor and Council of Assinibeto. on the 11th April 1862
[Fort Garry Printed at the office of The Nor' Wester Red River Settlement, 1862] caption-tile. 8p.
20cm
*The B.C. Archives also has another edition without publisher or date. 17p. 32cm. This second edition was printed in Ottawa
in 1971.* PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
- 3 CHRISTIAN PRIVILEGE AND DUTY A sermon preached in St John's Cathedral, Red River Settlement,
by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land on Sunday morning, May 10, 1868. Published
by request of the members of the congregation [sic]. Town of Winnipeg, Printed at The Nor' Wester
Office. 1868. 17p. 19cm McGill University Library
- 4 BY-LAW OF THE CLERGY WIDOW AND ORPHAN'S FUND OF THE DIOCESE OF RUPERT'S LAND. 1 leaf
CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY RECORDS
(1901 included)
- 5 PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND. [Text By order of the President, LOUIS RUEL,
Secty. Winnipeg, Nov. 6, 1869. Broadside 24 lines Type-page, 21 x 19cm
*The copy in the Manitoba Archives has a sig. word "Tellers" inserted before and above "Tribunals" also brackets around
the clause "the swiftness of our rights being now expeditious."* PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
- 6 GOVERNOR MACLEAVISH TO THE INHABITANTS OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT [Text, Given under my hand
and seal at Fort Garry this sixteenth day of November 1869 [L.S.] W. Macleavish, Governor of
Assiniboia. Broadside 77 lines. Type-page, 25 x 16.5cm. PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
- 7 THE NOR' WESTER and Pioneer Extra. Winnipeg, Wednesday November 17 1869 THE CAUSE! LOYALTY
TRIUMPHANT! [Royal Arms] THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION! Broadside 7 lines. In double column.
35 (x 27) x 11cm.
Copy in Public Archives of Canada missing lower half
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
- 8 THE NORTH WEST [Royal Arms 3 x 4.5cm] TERRITORIES L. 5 William Macdougall Victoria, by
the Grace of God To all to whom these Present [sic] shall come Greeting PROCLAMATION. [Text]
At the Red River in our aforesaid North West Territories, the first day of December in the year
of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine and in the thirty-third year of our reign
By command. J. A. N. Provencher, Secretary. Broadside 71 lines. In triple column. Type-page
26.5 x 16.8cm
MANUSCRIPTS ACQUIRED BY QUEBEC
- 9 THE NORTH WEST [Royal Arms 1 x 2cm] TERRITORIES. PROCLAMATION. By His Excellency the Honorable
William Macdougall Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, etc. etc. etc To all
to whom these shall come, greeting. [Text] Given under my hand and seal at arms at Red River
in the said Territories, the second day of December William Macdougall By command J. A. N.
Provencher, secretary. Broadside 44 lines. Type-page. 19.1 x 16.2cm. PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
- 10 THE NORTH-WEST [Royal Arms 1 x 2cm] TERRITORIES L. 4 By His Excellency the Honorable William
Macdougall To John Stoughton Dennis [Text] Given under my hand and seal at arms at
Red River in the said Territories, this first day of December William Macdougall by command
J. A. N. Provencher Secretary [Postscript appeal by J. S. Dennis] J. S. Dennis Lieutenant and
Conservator of the Peace in and for the N.W. Territories. Broadside 51 lines. In triple column.
Postscript 6 lines. Type-page, 23.2 x 16.5cm
*The Manitoba Archives has another printing of this commission on a skin, suggesting that it is Col. J. S. Dennis' actual
commission. Type-page is 26.2 x 16.5cm*
- 11 LIST OF RIGHTS. Text—14 points followed by 4 paragraphs describing the meeting at which these
were approved] Winnipeg, December 4th. 1869 Broadside 35 lines. Type-page 18.2 x 16.7cm
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
- 12 DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF RUPERT'S LAND AND THE NORTH WEST. Text, issued at Fort Garry
this 8th day of December in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine
(Signed) John Bruce, President Louis Riel Secretary Broadside 72 lines Type-page, 32 x 17cm.
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA

13. **DÉCLARATION DES HABITANTS DE LA TERRE DE RUPERT ET DU NORD-OUEST** [Text] Broadside 68 lines
Type-page, 28.3 x 11.1cm
This is the French version of the above broadside. A preliminary draft of this broadside was printed.
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
14. **[ROYAL ARMS. 3 x 5cm. Lower Fort Garry. Red River Settlement. December 9, 1869. To ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN. [Text. Given under my hand at the Lower Fort Garry this 9th day of December, 1869. J. S. DENNIS. Lieut. and Conservator of the Peace in and for the North West Territories. Broadside. 29 lines. Type-page, 12.8 x 16cm.]**
This broadside became known as the "peace proclamation." The copy in the Manitoba Archives is printed on card paper.
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
15. **ORDERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND. January 8, 187. Broadside.**
No copy located
16. **OMNICIUS ORDER. It is hereby ordered that the town of Winnipeg be and shall be hereafter the capital of the North West. March 8, 1870. Broadside.**
No copy located
17. **LISTE DES DROITS REVENDIQUES PAR LE PEUPLE DE LA TERRE DE RUPERT ET DU NORD-OUEST, ET CONDITIONS SOUS LESQUELLES CE PEUPLE CONSENTIRAIT À ENTRER DANS LA CONFÉDÉRATION CANADIENNE. [Text. Maison du Gouvernement. Fort Garry. le 23 mars. 1870. Broadside. 61 lines. Type-page, 29 x 17cm.]**
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
18. **POUR PROUVER AUX NATIONS SAUVAGES QUE LE PEUPLE DE LA RIVIÈRE ROUGE NE VEUT PAS LES LAISSER MALTRAITER PAR LE CANADA. [Text. LOUIS RIEL. Maison du Gouvernement. Fort Garry, le 23 mars, 1870. Broadside. 15 lines. Type-page, 9.5 x 11.1cm.]**
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
19. **Assiniboua. Legislative Assembly [Provisional government] BILL. [Winnipeg. Printed by the New Nation Printing Co. 1870. 3 broadsides. Text on recto, docket-leaf on verso. Leaf-size: 29.5cm.]**
Contents
BILL NO. 1. A bill respecting the haying privilege
BILL NO. 2. An act to provide for the administration of public justice
BILL NO. 3. An act providing for a military force
BILL NO. 4. An act respecting indemnity to members.
BILL NO. 5. A bill respecting the haying privilege. (Bill No. 1 as revised in the Legislature).
1st Session, 1st Parliament, March, 1870. The bills were passed 24 to 26 March.
A copy of Bill No. 3 found in the Public Archives of Canada, the others in the Manitoba Archives.
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
20. **Assiniboua. Legislative Assembly [Provisional government. Minutes or Proceedings. Wednesday March 9th, 1870. Winnipeg. Printed by H. M. Robinson & Company. 1870.] head-title: 4] p. 23.5cm. (page 1.) Head title plus list of members in attendance. Pages 2-3 are text. Docket leaf No. 1. 1st Session, 1st Legislature, Fort Garry.**
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
21. **Maison du Gouvernement Provisoire. Fort Garry. 7 avril 1870. AUX HABITANTS DU NORD ET DU NORD-OUEST. CONCITOYENS. — [Text. Par ordre du Président. Louis Schmidt. Asst. Sec. d'Etat. Broadside. 55 lines. Type-page, 24 x 16.8cm.]**
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
22. **PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH WEST. [Text.] LOUIS RIEL. Government House. Fort Garry. April 9, 1870. Broadside. 80 lines. Type-page, 24.3 x 11cm.]**
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA
23. **PROTESTATION DES PEUPLES DU NORD-OUEST. [Text. LOUIS RIEL. Broadside. 75 lines. Type-page, 40 x 16.5cm. On two pages. Is this a proof intended to have been issued as a single sheet?]**
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
24. **[ROYAL ARMS. 4.5 x 11cm. In first column: TO THE LOYAL INHABITANTS OF MANITOBA. [Text. G. J. WOLSELEY. Colonel commanding Red River Force. In second column: AU PEUPLE ROUGE DE MANITOBA. [Text.] G. J. WOLSELEY. Colonel. Commandant de l'expédition à la Rivière Rouge. Prince Arthur Landing, 30 juin 1870. Broadside. In double column. English text: 29 lines, French text: 35 lines, common text, 1 line. Type-page: 31.5 x 25cm. Colophon: Printed at New Nelson office. Winnipeg, 21st July, 1870.]**
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF MANITOBA

LAWs OF ASSINIBOIA.

Passed by the Governor and Council of Assinibolia, on the 11th April, 1862.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

- I. All local enactments, when not expressly extended further, shall apply only to that part of the District of Assinibolia which forms the Red River Settlement and its environs.*
- II. Fines and Forfeitures, when not otherwise appropriated, shall go to the Public Fund.*
- III. Every Resolution shall be interpreted without regard to the distinction of gender or number.*
- IV. If any person, in any way, encourage any violation of any local enactment, he shall be held to be as guilty as the principal offender.*
- V. Unless special regulation provide to the contrary, every wrong has its remedy under the general law of the country.*

I. All local regulations that were on record on the 15th March, 1862, are repealed.

FIRMS.

II. If any hay-stack in the open place shall be injured by a running fire, the owner shall not recover damages, unless such hay-stack has been protected, at a distance of at least twenty yards by a ploughed or barrowed ring of at least eight feet wide.

III. If between the 1st May and 1st December, any person shall kindle a fire intended

to run, he shall be fined Ten Pounds, one half to go to the prosecutor, and if any person without having obtained the presence and assistance of at least four men, shall light a fire for the purpose of burning the rings round hay stacks, as required by the preceding law, he shall be held to have incurred the penalty attached to this law. Provided, that the Bench may remit the whole fine, if the defendant has both kindled the fire through necessity and done all in his power to prevent it from spreading.

IV. If any fire in the open air, which is not intended to run, shall be left burning without due precautions or be negligently allowed to spread, every person who may have kindled or fed or used the same, shall be fined from Five shillings to Fifty shillings.

ANIMALS.

V. If one or more animals be found in an enclosure where damage has been done, the said damage shall be paid for by the Owner or Owners of such animal or animals found within the enclosure, as the Owner of the enclosure can prove to be generally known in his neighborhood as fence breakers, and that the amount of the damage shall be equally divided among each of the animal's known as fence breakers (respective of the other animals found at the same time within the enclosure) as known as fence breakers, and that each animal known as a fence breaker and found within the enclosure shall be kept in pledge till the owner pays its share of the damage, Provided, that the owner of the enclosure can prove that the fence of said enclosure was of sufficient height, strength and close-

Run, and that the gate or gates of the enclosure were closed.

VI. If any Stallion, sixteen months or approaching two years old or upwards, be found at large, the owner shall be fined Twenty Shillings, half the fine to go to the captor of the Stallion, and the animal himself may be kept in pledge, till security for payment of the fine be given and during the time the animal is so kept, the Owner shall pay for his keep at the rate of 5d. per day.

VII. If any Ram be found at large between the 30th June and 1st Nov. such ram may be detained by any person till the Owner pay Two Shillings and Sixpence for the use of the captor of the Ram, and during the time the Ram may be so detained the Owner shall pay for the keep of the said Ram at the rate of three pence per day.

VIII. If between 31st March and 1st November any pig or pigs be found in any enclosed field without a yoke of one foot and a half wide and one foot and a half in height, the owner of such Pig or Pigs shall not only be answerable for all damages committed by said Pig or Pigs but shall also pay a fine of Three Shillings for the seizure of the same. Furthermore, if after the Owner of the Pig or Pigs has been warned by the Proprietor of the enclosure to take his Pig or Pigs away, and he neglects to do so, or that once the Proprietor of the enclosure may, after the lapse of six hours, shoot the said Pig or Pigs, and the Owner shall not recover any damage for this act, and any person taking any Pig or Pig according to this law shall be allowed 5d. per diem such for their maintenance, the same to be paid by the owner of the Pig so taken.

HORSE TAKING.

IX. If any person takes another's horse to ride or drive without his consent, he shall be fined One Pound. Half of the fine shall go to the Informer, and shall forfeit to the owner of the horse all such equipments of any description as he may have used in such riding or driving, and if a horse so taken, be injured or lost, the person who so took the horse shall indemnify the Owner to the full extent of the damage or loss.

HAY

X. If any settler cut hay behind the two-mile line, before the 1st August, he shall forfeit the same or the value thereof.

XI. Any exclusive privilege of cutting hay between the two-mile line and the four-mile line shall be forfeited for the season, as soon as the party entitled, shall cut hay beyond the four-mile line, and at all events, all such exclusive privileges shall

be thrown open to all after the 15th August, or two weeks after the commencement of hay cutting.

XII. If any Settler trespasses fully in another's ground he shall forfeit the proceeds whether in kind or in value, for the benefit and satisfaction of the party injured without receiving any allowance for his labor, but, if he trespasses in ignorance, he shall still forfeit as before, though not without compensation for his time.

ROADS, &c.

XIII. The main highway shall be two chains wide.

XIV. Any other actual thoroughfare may be repaired or improved as a public path, but not till all the parties interested in the soil shall have consented to leave unoccupied, from time to time, an uniform breadth, so as to provide against the encroachments of the River or any other similar influences.

XV. Any person, who may dig a hole through the entire thickness of the ice, or through any portion of such thickness, shall, from time to time, mark the same at the point nearest to the actual track with a pole at least six feet high, being otherwise liable to render good all injury which such pole might have been expected to prevent.

XVI. Superintendents of Public Works shall be appointed in the different sections of the Settlement, and they shall be responsible to the Governor and Council for the sums of money expended on Public Works, as well as for the state of the roads and bridges in their respective Sections. The Superintendents shall publicly apply for tenders for all Public Works to be executed in their respective Sections, and from among those who tender the Superintendents shall select the best person or persons the Work offered for.

1. Section.—White Horse Plains from the Surgeon Creek upwards on both sides of the Amalthea River.
2. Lower Section.—From St. Paul's church downwards on both sides of the Red River.
3. Middle Section.—From St. Paul's Church upwards, on both sides of the Red River to St. John's Cathedral, from thence to the Forks on the west side of the Red River; and from the Forks upwards on both sides of the Amalthea River to Sturgeon Creek.
4. Upper Section.—From St. John's Cathedral to the Forks on the east side of the Red River, and from thence upwards on both sides of the Red River.

XVII. The following shall be the Superintendents of Public Works

1. *White Horse Plain section*—Patrick Ireland, with a salary of £30 yearly
2. *Lower section*—Thomas Sinclair with a salary of £25 yearly.
3. *Middle section*—John Frame, with a salary of £25 yearly.
4. *Upper section*—Francis Brennan, with a salary of £25 yearly.

THE INTOXICATING OF INDIANS.

XVIII. If any person, without distinction of race apply or sell to any person popularly known as an Indian, or any member of an Indian nation, the means of intoxication, he shall on being convicted before a petty Court on the oath of one or more witnesses be fined for each offence as follows:—
Two Pounds for furnishing any brewing viaticum the fine to go to the Informer

Three Pounds for furnishing Malt the fine to go to the Informer

Five pounds for furnishing Beer or any fermented Liquor the fine to go to the Informer

Ten Pounds for furnishing distilled spirits or any other immaterial cause of intoxication than fermented Liquor half the fine to go to the Informer.

In every case the Offender, after conviction, to be imprisoned until the fine is paid

XIX. In addition to those fines, the Offender shall make restitution to the Indian of all the equivalent which he may have received, if any for such furnishing,—every part of such equivalent not being money itself, being valued, for the purpose at prime cost.

XX. If an intoxicated Indian commit or threaten to commit any unprovoked violence, he may be imprisoned, in addition to any specific punishment, till he prosecute the person, who may have been guilty in the matter

XXI. If any person possess, or have possessed, Malt or Beer or Spirits, or any other of the above specified means of intoxication in the society or tent of any Indian, he shall be held guilty of furnishing such means of intoxication to Indians

LIQUOR LAWS.

XXII. It shall be lawful for the Bench of Magistrates of the Peace and Petty Courts in their several Districts assembled, on the first Monday of the month of June in each year or at other times when they deem it expedient, to issue Licences, which will be in force till the first Monday in June then next following to approved applicants, (who shall be

Landholders in the Settlements,) allowing the sale by retail on their own premises of all Spirits, Wines and Beer lawfully imported or of native manufacturers, (all quantities of Spirits under five gallons all quantities of Wines under one gallon, and all quantities of Beer under eight gallons shall be taxed retail)—that the sum of Ten Pounds be paid for a License so issued for the sale by retail of Spirits, Wines and Beer, and the sum of Five Pounds be paid for Licenses so issued for the sale by retail of Beer alone, and any person selling Spirits Wines or Beer by retail, without such license, shall on conviction before a Petty Court on the oath of one or more witnesses, for each offence pay a fine of Ten Pounds Sterling, and be imprisoned until the fine be paid—one half of the fine shall go to the Informer,—and the form of the License shall be according to Schedule A. or B., any offence against the provisions of said license shall be punished by forfeiture of the same and in addition, in case of infraction of the provisions of said License as regards Indians, the Offender shall pay the special penalty for furnishing the means of intoxication to Indians.

Schedule A

This is to certify that you—
are hereby permitted to sell on your own premises any Lawful Spirits, in any quantity under Five Gallons, Wine in any quantity under one Gallon, and Beer in any quantity under Eight Gallons to any person or persons, subject to the following restrictions—Not between the hours of 3 o'clock at night and 3 o'clock in the morning, not in any hour during the Sabbath, not to any intoxicated person, never to any Indian, or person popularly known as an Indian, any act contrary to the above restrictions shall make this year License void and of none effect.

This License shall continue in force till the first Monday in June next next following.

Schedule B.

This is to certify that you—
are hereby permitted to sell on your own premises, any quantity of Beer under eight gallons, in any person or persons, subject to the following restrictions—Not between the hours of nine o'clock at night and six o'clock in the morning, not in any hour during the Sabbath; not to any intoxicated person, never to any Indian or person popularly known as an Indian, any act contrary to the above restrictions shall make this year License void and of none effect.

This License shall continue in force till the first Monday in June next next following.

XXIII. Each Petty Court, out of the Fund arising from Licenses and penalties, shall defray any necessary expenses incurred in enforcing the Laws against the illegal sale of Spirits Wines or Beer, or the furnishing of the means of

Information to Indians accounting to the Governor and Council for all such receipts and expenditures.

XXIV No action shall be for the recovery of Penalties for any breach of the laws for regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, unless information shall have been given within six months after the commission of the offence.

CUSTOMS DUTIES

XXV All Goods imported into the District of Acadia from any port of the British Dominions, or from any Foreign country, shall be subject to a levy of Four percent ad valorem duty to be estimated at the price current of the original place of export, London or New York, &c., excepting such articles as shall be otherwise specified. The following shall be admitted free from Customs Duty, viz.:

- i. All Bar Iron and Steel.
- ii. All Books and Publications, whether imported for use or as Merchandise.
- iii. All Scientific Instruments.
- iv. All Agricultural Machines and Implements.
- v. All Haggings, all Apparel and Linens that have been or are in present use of the owners.
- vi. All Seeds, Roots or Plants, tending to the improvement of Agriculture.
- vii. All Stationery and School Station.
- viii. All Goods, the beneficial property of British subjects entered at the time of Import as destined for ports not within the District of Acadia.
- ix. All Cases, Boxes, Barrels, Bottles or Cloth covering, which contain Goods or Fluids of any description.
- x. Monumental Tablets or Tombstones.
- xi. All Grindstones and Stones.
- xii. All Skins, Peltries, Parchment, untanned Leather and all produce of the chase generally.
- xiii. All Goods gratuitously given, and originally designed for the benefit of the Indian Missions of Rupert's Land, also all Wines imported for Church Service.

XXVI There shall be four Collectors of Customs residing severally at each extreme and middle of the Settlement, and at White Horse Plain whose residences shall be houses of clearance. A Collector of Customs shall have power to administer Oaths, to search for and seize contraband goods and to prosecute defaulters, he shall have power to call constables and all loyal subjects of her Britannic Majesty, to his aid, and all persons not constables, as called upon, shall be paid by the Collector at the public expense as special constables extraordinary, say Ten Shillings per diem. A Collector of Customs

shall have power to exact and receive payments of Customs duty and to give receipts in discharge of the same. He shall twice in every month pay into the hands of the Governor, who is ex-officio Receiver General, all revenues received by him, together with a list of the persons paying, and the value of the Goods on which the duty has been paid, and each Collector shall once every week transmit to the next nearest Clearance House a list of all clearances made by him. Each Collector shall in addition to his salary be entitled to one fifth part of the proceeds of measures he shall make or cause to be made.

XXVII Every person bringing Goods liable to duty into the District of Acadia, whether Owner, Agent, or Conductor, shall be provided with an Invoice or Manifest, which shall conform with the name of the consignee, an accurate account of the quantity and prime cost value of all goods contained in any carriage, vehicle or vessel or any conveyance whatsoever, whether by land or water. This Invoice or Manifest shall be attested by the signature of the Owner or his Representative, and on arrival of the Goods within the Settlement the said Invoice or Manifest shall be produced to the collector at the first House of Clearance the goods may come to, whereupon the goods shall be liable to clearance. The collector may verify the accuracy of any Invoice presented to him by an oath administered to the party or by examination of the goods, opening packages if necessary. On being therewith satisfied, he shall exact payment of the Duty, or at his discretion accept a Bond for the amount payable within a period of not more than three months, which Bond may be used for and recovered the same as any other contract debt.

The collector on receiving satisfaction for the Duty as above defined shall write on the back of the Manifest the words "Examined and Passed," attaching his signature and the date thereof, and this shall be held as a sufficient receipt.

Be it observed that in any case where the want of a Manifest is or has been unavoidable, the collector may accept of the sworn declaration of the party, as to the value of the Goods, or otherwise satisfy himself of their value.

XXVIII Every Owner or Importer or Conductor of goods shall within twenty-four hours of the arrival of such Goods exhibit his Manifest (if not already cleared) to a Collector of Customs, and any Owner, Importer or Conductor of Goods failing to do so, shall be adjudged to the Duty, forfeit a sum of not more than Fifty Pounds Sterling, or less, at the discretion of the court, which penalty may be used for and recovered in the same manner as a contract debt. And any package or Goods in Bulk not entered into any Manifest shall be seized as contraband and forfeited to the Queen, or to the Governor

and Connell sitting in her name and in the event of any person refusing to show his licence at Mail, post or refusing to pay the duty or to give a bond for the payment of the same, the Collector shall be authorized to seize all his goods as contraband.

Any person making a false declaration under an oath administered by a Collector may be indicted for wilful perjury.

Persons claiming exemption from Duty because of their Goods being destined for parts beyond the Circle of Customs, shall as in the case of goods for home consumption enter them at one of the Custom Houses as being on transit for their destination, and give a Bond that the said Goods will be duly carried and disposed of beyond the limits of the District of Assam, which Bond will be for an amount equal to half the prime cost of the Goods so entered, and can only be cancelled by the certificate of a Collector of Customs, that the conditions of the Bond have been fulfilled, otherwise the amount of the Bond will be forfeited and shall be recoverable in the same manner as a contract debt.

XXIX. All Goods liable for duty shall be held as contraband if under the following circumstances, they are unprotected by a clearance.

1. If they have been within the premises of the importer or Consignee for more than Forty-eight hours.

2. If they have been opened or in any way disposed of or otherwise have passed from the Original Importer or Consignee.

3. If, not being liable for duty because of their destination being beyond the limits of the District—they shall have been opened or disposed of or in any way have passed from the possession of the original Importer or Consignee within the limits of the District, without the knowledge and sanction of a Collector of Customs, all such goods, unless otherwise provided for shall be forfeited to the Queen by the Governor and Council acting in her name.

All goods so seized shall be deposited in the Court House, and afterwards at such convenient times be sold by public auction for the benefit of the revenue, paying expenses and the rights of the Collectors.

XXX. That a Duty of Five Shillings per Gallon be imposed upon all Fermented and Spirituous Liquors imported into the Settlement, except such as shall be proved to have been directly imported from the United Kingdom by the Consignee.

XXXI. The following shall be the Collectors of Customs.

William Deane, at Point Dupuis, with a salary of £30 per annum.

Buger Coombs, at Upper Fort George, with a salary of £25 per annum.

Patrick Brooker, at White Horse Plain, with a salary of £25 per annum.

W. G. Smith, at Lower Fort George.

POLICE.

XXXII. Efficient householders, not exceeding twelve in number to remain in Office for a term of three years from the 1st September following the date of their appointment, shall be appointed Constables on the last Thursday in each year by the Magistrates specially assembled for the purpose, and every Constable so appointed must take the following Oath.

I swear by God, as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment that I shall faithfully discharge from my office of Constable for the District of Assam, be always ready at all hazards to serve and execute all legal writs and to maintain the peace and authority of the said District against all persons and the authors of such peace or such authority, and that I shall to the utmost of my ability, obey all laws and all lawful authorities within and for the said District and induce all others to obey the same, and that I shall do my best to become acquainted with all local regulations.

XXXIII. For any neglect of Duty any Constable may be suspended by any Magistrate or Petty Court, or may be dismissed by the General Court.

XXXIV. Each Constable shall receive Twelve Pounds a year, to be paid half yearly excepting that if dismissed for neglect of duty or pronounced after the close of his half year to have been deservedly suspended he shall receive only Three Shillings and six pence for every day of actual service.

DEBTS.

XXXV. That no immovable property shall be sold without intimation made or posted previously on two consecutive Sundays at the door of every Church in the Settlement, and that in case the sale may have been effected without this intimation the buyer shall be responsible for the debts of the seller to the amount of the true value of the immovable property.

XXXVI. That any Creditor to the extent of not less than twenty shillings on making Oath before a Justice of the Peace to the correctness of the debt, and to the fact of his belief in his debtor's intention to proceed to a Foreign country or to a part of the country over which the civil jurisdiction of the courts of the Settlement does not extend may compel the said Debtor to show grounds for expecting his return to the Settlement within the same season as his departure or to give security for his appearance at the then next coming competent Court, or failing both of those conditions apprehend and detain his person in the Settlement till then, and that from the operation of this law every debtor who has contracted with the Company or others to leave the Settlement for a limited period, but who does not contemplate an unlimited absence from the Settlement shall be exempt if his agreement has been published by the exhibition of his name in the Company's Office or other public place at least four days prior to the sitting of the Court.

competent Court preceding the date of his intended departure, and further that in no case shall a Debtor leaving the Settlement in terms of an agreement be liable to be detained for debts which were contracted with third parties after the date of the publication of his agreement to leave the Settlement for a limited period.

XXXVII. That in the case of a Debtor who has left the Settlement for an unlimited period having property in the Settlement, such property of as much of the same as may be deemed equal to the amount of the claim, shall, at the discretion of any two Justices, be liable, on the sworn application of a Creditor, to be attached in the hands of any third party, and that, failing the Debtor's appearance before the said Justices after summons by proclamation for three successive Sundays on two of the Protestant and two of the Catholic church doors, the competent Court may proceed to execute justice in the matter according to their discretion provided however that no such attachment shall be made against the property of a person who, although absent, can be proved to have publicly notified his intention of departure for two days previous to the date of the same.

INTESTATE ESTATES.

XXXVIII. When any person has died without a written will, and no individual shall intermeddle with the property of the deceased, letters of administration from the Governor of Antislolia.

MARRIAGE LICENSES.

XXXIX. On payment of One Pound, a marriage license shall be issued by the Governor of Antislolia to any applicant, who may swear before him, that neither himself, nor his intended consort, is already living in lawful wedlock, saving the rights whatever they may be, of any ecclesiastical person in the premises.

XL. Any legally ordained Presbyterian Minister labouring in the Settlement, may validly solemnize marriages in the District of Antislolia, and all registers of marriages, baptisms and burials regularly kept by any legally ordained Presbyterian Minister shall be deemed legal and valid records.

CONTRACTS FOR SERVICE.

XLI. That it shall not be lawful for any Freightor or Owner of any boat voyaging between Red River Settlement and any other place to employ any person as a Boatman without first entering into a contract in writing as nearly as may be the form of the Schedule A hereafter written,

specifying what wages such person is to receive, in what capacity he is to serve, the time of entering such service, the period of starting, and the Port or Place to which such voyage is to be made, and to be signed by every such boatman respectively, and attested by one witness when both contracting parties can sign their names and by two witnesses when one or both contracting parties shall be unable to sign their names, the said contract to be distinctly and truly read to such boatman before signature.

XLII. That if any boatman after having signed such agreement, but not otherwise, shall neglect or refuse to join the boat he has engaged to serve in, or shall refuse to proceed on the voyage agreed upon, or shall absent himself without leave, it shall be lawful for any Justice of the Peace upon complaint being made on oath by the Master or Owner of such boat, who shall produce his contract to apprehend the said boatman, and in case such boatman cannot give any sufficient reason for such absence, refusal or neglect, the said Justice upon sufficient proof of such default may commit the boatman to jail, for any period not exceeding thirty days, unless such boatman shall agree to proceed on such voyage to the satisfaction of the complaining party, provided always that nothing contained herein shall deprive the Master or Owner of his legal recourse for the recovery of wages advanced to such boatman nor deprive such boatman of the like recourse for wages due.

XLIII. That public and sufficient notice shall be given of the day of starting, not less than fourteen days previously.

Schedule A

An agreement made pursuant to a law of the Governor and Council of Antislolia passed in the 21st year of the reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria, between _____ of Red River Settlement, Freightor, and the several persons whose names are subscribed hereto.

It is agreed by and on the part of the said persons, and they severally agree hereby to serve on board such boat or boats as may be hereafter designated in the several copies of this agreement against their respective names expressed on a voyage from Red River Settlement to _____, and back to Red River Settlement.

And the said Crew or Crews further agree to conduct themselves in an orderly, faithful, honest, careful, and sober manner, and to be at all times obedient in their respective duties and stations, and to be obedient to the lawful commands of the said Freightor or his Representative in everything relating to the said boat, and the material, stores, and cargo thereof, whether on board such boat or on shore. In consideration of which services duly, honestly, carefully, and faithfully performed, the said Freightor doth hereby promise and agree to pay the said Crew by way of compensation

or wagon, the amount against their names, respectively expressed.

In witness whereof the said parties have hereto subscribed their respective signatures mentioned.

Wharfage	
Wages	
Stamps of Stamping	
Capacity	
Men's Expenses	
Tools of Husbandmen	

SURVEYORS.

XLIV. Messrs. Roger Goslet and Herbert L. Sabies shall be Surveyors for this Settlement without Salary from the Public Funds, but they shall be entitled to be paid Ten Shillings per Acre each, by any person who calls for their services.

POSTAL.

XLV. James Ross, Esquire, shall be Postmaster in the Middle Section of the Settlement with a salary of Ten Pounds per annum: and Thomas Bickler, Esquire, shall be Postmaster in the Lower Section, with a salary of Six Pounds per annum.

XLVI. A Mail shall be carried between this Settlement and Pembina at the public expense in connection with the United States Mail to Pembina, and the Mail from the Settlement shall be so regulated as to meet the United States Mail at Pembina.

XLVII. The charge for Postage by the Red River Mail from the Settlement to Pembina, or from Pembina to the Settlement shall be as follows:

Each Letter under half an ounce, one penny, and one penny for each additional half ounce.

Heavy Magazines or Boxes, two pence.

Heavy Papers, one half-penny, except such Papers going

out as printed directly from the office of publication, and those which come in as exchanges, on which there shall be no charge.

Books half a penny under, five pence—One pound, nine pence, One pound and a half, one Shilling.—Two pounds, one Shilling and two pence, and for every additional half pound, two pence.

All Letters carried by the Post-Office in this Settlement shall bear a charge of one penny each.

XLVIII. Letters that have lain in the Post Office one month uncalled for, shall be advertised, and if not applied for within a month after advertisement, shall be returned to distributing Office, and all letters so advertised shall bear a charge of three pence each, to be defrayed by the individual receiving such letter, in addition to the regular postage.

PREMIUM ON WOLVES' HEADS.

XLIX. A Premium of Five Shillings for the head of every large, and of Two Shillings and Six Pence for the head of every Small Wolf killed within Twenty miles of the Settlement, shall be paid from the Public Funds, but from the premium the sum of six pence a head shall be retained for his own benefit by the Official who distributes the premium to Claimants.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

L. Doctor Bird shall be Coroner for the District of Assiniboia.

LI. James Ross, Esquire, shall be Sheriff for the same.

James Ross, Esquire, shall be Governor of the Gaol, with a Salary of Thirty pounds a year.

LII. The General Court shall sit for the District of Assiniboia with a Jury, on the third Thursday of February on the third Tuesday of May, on the third Thursday of August, and on the third Thursday of November.

LIII. In place of the Laws of England of the date of the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter, the Laws of England of her Majesty's accession, so far as they may be applicable to the condition of this Colony, shall regulate the proceedings of the General Court, till more higher authority, or this Council itself, shall have expressly provided, either in whole or in part to the contrary.

LIV. Petty Courts shall sit as follows:

1. Waite Horse Plain Section from Sturgeon Creek upwards on both sides of the Assiniboine, on the second Monday of January and of March, on the first Monday of June, on the second Monday of July of September, and of November, at Mr. P. Ireland's House.
2. Lower Section, from St. John's Cathedral downwards on both sides of the Red River, on the fourth Monday of January, of March, of May,

of July, of September, and of November, at Mr Thomas Sinclair's House.

30. *Upper Session*, comprising all the rest of the Settlement, on the third Monday of every month at the Court House—provided, however, that any one of these Petty Courts, may adjourn itself over said time and harvest.

LIV The Petty Judges shall be as follows:

- i. *Session*—Mr. Francois Brunson, President, with a salary of £12 a year, Mr. Pascal Brunson, with a salary of £5 a year, Mr. John Taylor, with a salary of £5 a year, Mr. Pierre Paluso, with a salary of £5 a year.
- ii. *Session*—Mr. Thomas Sinclair, President, with a salary of £8 a year, Mr. Donald Gunn, with a salary of £5 a year, Mr. John Isahure, with a salary of £5 a year, Mr. Donald Murray, with a salary of £5 a year.
- iii. *Session*—Mr. Francois Brunson, with a salary of £15 a year, Mr. William Deane, with a salary of £10 a year, Mr. A. Fiddler, with a salary of £5 a year, Mr. Silasoo Amlia, with a salary of £5 a year, Mr. A. G. B. Bennatyne, with a salary of £5 a year.

LVI Two Petty Judges and the President shall form a quorum, the President voting only when the others have not decided by at least a plurality of votes.

LVII The Petty Courts shall take cognizance of all actions of debt, with the exception of questions of *responde*, not exceeding Five Pounds; and also of all petty offences which do not involve any other than a pecuniary fine of not more than Forty Shillings Sterling, with the exception of cases arising from Breach of the Liquor Laws, or the laws regarding the furnishing to Indians of the means of intoxication, in which cases the Petty Courts are specially competent to decide—Provided however that where the debt exceeds Two Pounds, the losing Party may appeal to the General Court so giving security for costs.

LVIII In any Petty Court the original

summons shall run only for its own Session of the Settlement, but all other writs whatever shall run for the District of Ameliboia.

LIX If in any suit originally brought before the General Court, the Bench, after verdict rendered against the defendant, shall unanimously decide, that such suit ought to have gone before a Petty Court, the Plaintiff shall in that case receive costs only as in such Petty Court.

LX In any Court, either party to a civil action may become the other's witness.

LXI Every writ, including service or execution thereof, within the range of the Settlement, shall cost one shilling.

LXII In a civil case the Jurors shall receive Two Shillings and Sixpence each, while all witnesses who are called shall have Two Shillings and Sixpence a day each.

LXIII On every case entered for the General Court the Plaintiff shall deposit Two Shillings which if the case comes on for trial shall go towards the payment of the Jury, but should the case not come to trial the said deposit shall be forfeited. If the case has not been withdrawn at least eight full days previous to the day on which the court sits, the sums thus forfeited shall go to form a fund from which each Jurymen summoned for the General Court who does not sit on a civil case shall receive Two Shillings and Sixpence for his attendance.

LXIV Any person who may be imprisoned in respect of any crime or of any penalty, shall daily receive one pound of flour, and half a pound of pemican and water at discretion, and no person may be imprisoned, or kept in prison, at the suit of any creditor, unless he shall receive every week in advance, a daily allowance of Six pence from each creditor.

EXECUTIVE OFFICER.

LXV Mr. William Robert Smith with a salary of One Hundred Pounds a year, shall discharge all such administrative functions as may, but especially assigned to any other person.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE LEGISLATURE
OF RUPERT'S LAND.,

Wednesday, March 9th, 1870.

WEDNESDAY, the Ninth Day of the Month of March, being the First Session of the First Legislature of Rupert's Land.

The Members in attendance in the Legislative Chamber, Upper Fort Garry, were:—

LOUIS RIEL, Esq., *President*,

THE HONORABLE MEMBERS

W. B. O'Donoghue,
John Bruce,
Ambroise Lapin,
Louis Schmidt,
A. Boichémin,
Baptiste Tauxem,
Baptiste Boichémin,

Pierre Parrentsen,
Louis Lascotte,
A. G. B. Hanzatynus,
Wm. Fraser,
Thomas Dunn,
Wm. Garrioch,

George Gunn,
John Norquay,
R. Hayes,
Wm. Tait,
A. H. Scott,
H. F. Olson.

The President having taken his seat at 3 o'clock p. m., addressed the Legislature as follows, in French:—

Gentlemen, we have been assembled in this Chamber on several occasions, having been sent here by the people to deliberate on the political state of the country and to adopt such measures as would secure the prosperity of the present and future generations. But that all has been done so far has resulted only in what we have to-day. Yet that only is a very comprehensive word. It includes your work during that period—the work of the people in fact (cheers). We have worked here in the just in anxiety and fear. But we have worked conscientiously. That the majority, at least, have done so, I fully believe. One result of our labors is that the people generally now have, for the first time in the history of this land, a voice in the direction of public affairs. They have here a full representation. Herein we may congratulate ourselves that our work has been a good one, and, indeed, it may almost be said to be the only result we have arrived at as yet. At present, we are not, perhaps, in a position to proceed to business. But at the same time we have arrived at that stage, when there is some public security (cheers). Let us, then, see to it that the public are no more allowed to rush together, on one side or the other, in such a manner as they have gathered of late. Let us be friends—and let our friendship be hearty and sincere (cheers). On many occasions, since last fall, I have heard professions of friendship in this Chamber, and I must say I was sorry to hear those professions, for I knew they were—as they afterwards proved to us, insincere. There was too much of fear and estrangement to allow of that friendship being hearty. But now that we have come together once more, I believe we are actuated by such feelings as will tend to a thorough union (cheers). We have come here to decide on that which we believe to be our duty, and will do it, honestly. We are here as the public authority. We are here to act in that capacity. Some of you were in the old Government of the country, and are familiar with the conduct of public proceedings. You have your ideas of what is best for the public. The Members as a body have their ideas on the same subject. Well, then, let us act,—that is our motto (cheers). Let us not confine ourselves to thinking or speaking. We must act. Let us act inside this Chamber as well as outside. The work is urgent,—is one of the utmost consequence to ourselves and our people. In this Legislature and outside that work awaits us, and we will not be faithful to ourselves or our country if we shirk it (cheers). As to the business before us, I may say that in the first place the Government must be completed as soon as possible. This must be done in order to promote union in the Settlement, and give that feeling of security which will encourage our business men to start afresh, and infuse new vigor into the community in general. We must help the country at this crisis, and if we do so in the way I have pointed out, I feel that we will secure general sympathy and support. The people will support us if we support them. There are, I know, some differences between the residents of different localities—and perhaps the easiest way to dispose of this would be that each side should concede something. A spirit of concession, I think, ought to be

manifested on both sides; and if it is, we will be cordial and united. If we were so united,—as we were long ago, the people of Red River could make their own terms with Canada. We have had here already three Commissioners from the Dominion, and now, just now, we have another come among us, in the person of His Excellency the Bishop of St. Boniface, one who is generally beloved and esteemed in the land, and to whose mission, I doubt not, the highest attention will be paid. For my part I would certainly like to see in the person of His Lordship a Commissioner, invested with full power to give us what we want (cheers). But we have to be careful for we do not know what that power is, and we must not rush blindly into the hands of any Commissioners. Let us act prudently—that is all I urge,—if we do so, we will be safe enough (cheers). This, gentlemen, is all I have to say. You cannot, of course, expect to do anything to-day, in any way, even if all the members were present. (Heat, heat, hear). Before we separate let me say one word. Let us try to be more friendly. Why not? We are not going to fight any more (hear, hear, and cheers)—not at all. And I cannot, in this connection, but express regret at hearing unpleasant rumors from the Portage. These rumors cause fear all the time at the White Horse Plains. The people there are led to believe that they are going to be crushed some day or other. There is a want of assurance among our people which has led to a guard being stationed in that quarter. I hope the Portage people will be able to disavow any such intentions, and give such assurances as will lead to a better state of things. If it is not fully according to the mind of the people, let not any one from that section deny the rumors. But if, on the contrary, the Portage people do not harbor the designs attributed to them, I hope it will be stated, so that a feeling of tranquility and security may be diffused (cheers).

Mr. Hays urged an adjournment of Council, as the notice convening it had not been published in time and all the members were not in attendance.

Mr. W. Garrioch—As the representative from the Portage, I would say a word or two respecting what the President has said concerning the rumors current among the White Horse Plain people. I am very happy to say,—and I make the statement in all truth and sincerity,—that the rumors alluded to are utterly without foundation (cheers). Except in one instance, we have done our utmost to keep the peace. We feel that we are in duty bound to come under the Provisional Government, and are now on perfect good terms with all the people of Red River. As to the rumors concerning the Sioux, I would also state that we are doing our utmost to keep them quiet, and, as far as I know, they are listening to us (cheers).

Mr. Burns seconded by Mr. Brown moved that the Legislature adjourn till Tuesday next at ten o'clock A. M.—Carried.

The President—Now that we are going home, our politics will be,—good government for the people, as soon as we can establish it, and public propriety by every means which we can devise (cheers).

The Legislature then adjourned till Tuesday next.

INDEX

Anderson, David, Bishop of Rupert's Land	7, 9, 11
Archibald, Adams George	9, 11
Arkin, Nathan	13
AV PEUPLE LOYAL DE MANITOBA	36, 41
AUX HABITANTS DU NORD ET DU NORD-OUEST	30, 39
Bannatyne, A. G. B.	29
Barnard, Alonzo	11
Begg, Alexander	3, 5, 25, 31, 33, 37
Black, Mr	35
Brown, Walter R.	13, 15, 19, 35, 37
Bruce, John.	37
Buckingham, William.	3, 5
Butler, William Francis.	41
BY-LAW OF THE CLERGY WIDOW AND ORPHAN'S FUND	11
CHRISTIAN PRIVILEGE AND DUTY	4, 13
Church Missionary Society	29
City halls	1
Coldwell, William	3, 11, 23, 29, 33
Colonial and Continental Church Society	3
Corbett, Griffith Owen	3, 9, 11, 29
Council of Assiniboia	5, 7, 9
DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF RUPERT'S LAND	20, 33
Dennis, John Stoughton	25, 29, 31, 33
Emmerling Hotel	27
A FEW REASONS FOR A CROWN COLONY	1, 3
Fort Garry	3
Governor MacTavish to the INHABITANTS.	8, 21
Grant, D. A.	25
Guth, Donald	19
Hangrave, Joseph James	5
Headingley Press	1
Holy Trinity Parish, Headingley	3
Hudson's Bay Company	1, 3, 5, 9
Hunter, Archdeacon James	11
Inkater, John.	11
Lande, Lawrence	13
Laure, Patrick Gamgee	19, 25, 29
LAW OF ASSINIBOIA	9
LIST OF RIGHTS	18, 29
LEVEE DES DROITS	26, 30
Lower Fort Garry	25, 29, 31, 35
McDermot Building (Red River Hall)	15
McDougall, William,	17, 19, 25, 29, 29, 31, 33, 35
Macbray, Robert	13
McKenney, Henry	23
MacTavish, J. H.	41
MacTavish, William	19, 21, 33
Mair, Charles	19
Meade R. P.	15
MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF RUPERT'S LAND	39
The New Nation (newspaper)	35, 37, 39
THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES (first)	12, 29, 29
THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES (second)	14, 33
The Nor Wester	2, 3, 9, 11, 17, 23, 25, 37
OFFICIAL ORDER, WINNIPEG HEREFTER THE CAPITAL	39
ORDER OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND	37
Pembina	19
The Pioneer (Red River Pioneer) (newspaper)	23
POUR PROTEGER AUX NATIONS SAUVAGES	28, 39
PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST	33, 41
PROTESTATION DES PEUPLES DU NORD-OUEST	34, 41
Provencher, Joseph Albert Norbert	27
PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND	6, 19
Red River Hall (McDermot Building)	15
Red River Pioneer (also The Pioneer)	35
Riel, Louis	9, 19, 23, 35, 37, 41
Robinson, Henry Martin	35, 37
Ross, James	7, 9
St. Paul, Minnesota	3
Schmidt, Louis	37, 39
Schultz, John Christian	11, 13, 15, 29
Scott, Thomas	37
SIOUX MASSACRES IN MINNESOTA	7
Smith, T. T.	11
Spence, Thomas	37
Seutsman, Enos	35
Taché, Alexandre Antonin, Bishop of St. Boniface	11
TO THE LOYAL INHABITANTS OF MANITOBA	36, 41
Upper Fort Garry	3
Victoria, Queen	27
White Stone	15
Winnipeg	25, 35
Winship, George B.	15, 17, 25, 29, 29
Wolsey, Garnet	31, 41



The Author

Contributors

For more than a quarter of a century Bruce Peel has been searching for books, pamphlets, and broadsides written about the Prairie Provinces. Many early publications — such as the Red River broadsides of 1869-70 — were ephemera by nature and if they exist today it is only in a few copies.

Mr. Peel in his search has visited most major libraries on this continent and in 1971 the quest led him through seventeen European countries. He is a former president of the Canadian Library Association and of the Bibliographical Society of Canada.

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